

# DESIA

A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT OF KORAPUT ORISSA

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**DESIA**  
**A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT OF ORISSA**  
[Grammar, Text and Dictionary]

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## FOREWORD

Professor Khageswar Mahapatra's study of the Desia language—the Desia dialect of Oriya—should be of interest to several kinds of scholar—as well as to those outsiders working in the Koraput district of Orissa (in an earlier period part of the Madras Presidency)—most of them from coastal central Orissa—wanting to know more about this chief local dialect. But Koraput has not been a popular place with these people—the administrators and businessmen from the coastal districts—it being considered an unhealthy, 'Jungly', and generally unpleasant place—a place to get out of as soon as one can. There have been exceptions of course; the distinguished novelist Gopinath Mohanty, who spent many years in Koraput, set a couple of his novels (about tribals—'Porojas') there. Students of Oriya will have to examine another 'southern' dialect, one different from the Southern Oriya of Berhampur and the Ganjam region. Desia, for instance, differs from the other Oriya dialects in lacking all the aspirates of standard Oriya (and Indo-Aryan). It also lacks the retroflex  $\eta$  and—, which lack is characteristic of 'central' (i.e. the central border region between 'North'—roughly, Indo Aryan, and 'South', i.e. Dravidian) India. Indo-Aryanists will want to know something about the south-western most Indo-Aryan language of mainland India, a frontier language fronting not only the border of Telugu-speaking Andhra, but in contact with several other languages in what is still—and probably has long been—a highly multilingual region, one of the regions in 'central' [i.e. no] Himalayan or extreme northeastern (Assam, Meghalaya, etc.)] India of greatest linguistic diversity. In Koraput at least five different Munda languages are spoken, as well as that many or more tribal Dravidian languages, this in addition to varieties of Telugu, and standard (coastal) Oriya and several other (presumably closely related to Desia) Indo-Aryan dialects. The Dravidianists and the Munda linguists have, as usual, preceded the students of 'tribal', 'substandard' or 'offbeat dialectal'—Indo-Aryan in coming to Koraput to do linguistic research. There is at least one reason why Desia ought to have been studied first and the results of the study made available to the Dravidianists and Mundalogists: it is clear, at least for the study of the Munda languages of the region Gutob (Gadba), Remo (Boṇḍa), Gta (Ḍidayi), Sora (Saora) and Gorum (Parengi), that these languages have been heavily influenced by Desia. How heavily was not fully apparent until Dr. Mahapatra's work appeared. Not merely lexicon (Gutob and Gorum have borrowed particularly heavily, and where Dravidian borrowings were noted in these languages it now looks as if most of these have come through Desia), but verbal categories, and pieces of syntax and semantics of some of these Munda languages have obvious sources in Desia. If there was—or is—a Munda influence on Desia, not much evidence of it has been noted so far. Desia, as Dr. Mahapatra shows, is very

close to 'Bhatrī'. More and better work is now needed on the various dialects of 'Halbi' in order to provide a reliable and reasonably full description—and some notion of the history of—these southwestern and southcentral interior Indo-Aryan languages. The historic connections of these—claims on behalf of Marathi, Hindi (Chhatisgarhi) and Oriya have been made—are still unclear.

The region—like most regions in India—has been long known to history but not a great deal of its history has been worked out. There has been some, but not much anthropological work done on particular groups (i.e. the Sora and the Bonda) in the area, but we know practically nothing about the complex interactions of the many different (and I don't mean only linguistically different) social groups in Koraput. Like other regions, this one is changing (some parts of it at a very rapid rate)—in the wake of the building of hydroelectric projects, airplane factories, etc., and the influx of outsiders (mostly people from outside Orissa) that these developments have brought with them.

Professor Mahapatra has also collected a rich sample of texts in Desia, most of them not included in this volume. The song types, their contexts and occasions, are common to many of the groups of the region and no doubt to a wider region. Most of the speakers of the Munda languages of Koraput are bilingual in their own languages and in Desia. Some of them are giving up their own languages in favour of Desia. Nobody has tried to do for Koraput and e.g., the adjacent district of Srikakulam in Andhra, the sort of typological study that John Gumperz and associates did on the Maharashtra-Karnataka border. The situation here—and Koraput also shares a long border with the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh (Andhra, but not Srikakulam, farther south also shares a long border with Bastar) is more complex: for one thing there are many more languages, and one more linguistic family represented. For any such areal study too—and such studies are very much worth doing—Dr. Mahapatra's book will be an indispensable source.

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K. M.

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## INTRODUCTION

'DESIA' (Skt. Derya) means 'native', 'aboriginal' or 'indigenous'. The primitive inhabitants of the hilly regions of Koraput are generally known as 'Desia' or the 'sons of the soil'. Their language, a dialect of Oriya has been, therefore, denominated as 'Desia', or the speech of the region.

### I

Koraput is the land of the aboriginals. According to the 1961 Census as many as 51 tribal and 73 scheduled caste communities live there and constitute respectively 60.9 and 12.4 per cent of the total population of the district. In addition to this, of the rest bulk of population nearly 10% come under the Backward class. These people, taken together, are a heterogeneous mixture of three different ethnological groups, such as Aryan, Dravidian and Austic, and speak a large variety of dialects which are not mutually intelligible. It has been very correctly stated by R. C. S. Bell (District Gazetteer, Koraput, 1945) that—"The languages of the district form a veritable Babel". In this sparsely populated small stretch of land as many as 20 different languages are spoken and people living side by side in a village speak altogether different dialects. A list of the important languages of the area is given below:

- (A) Aryan Group—1. Oriya (908766) dialects—Desia,  
Bhatri (133211)  
Jharis (2032)  
2. Marathi dialect—Halbi (1886)  
3. Chhatisgarhi dialect—Laria (539)
- (B) Dravidian Group—  
4. Telugu (86097)  
5. Kui (162518)  
6. Pengu (1254)  
7. Kondh (79034)  
8. Parji (83914)  
9. Koya (31052)  
10. Gondi (18098)  
11. Konda (10930)
- (C) Munda Group—12. Gadba (31791)  
13. Pareru (6702)  
14. Bonda (4677)  
15. Dideyi (1978)  
16. Saora (55418) including Lodha—16628)

Santali, Bhumij, Maheli, Mirdha, Mundari etc. are also current in the district, though these are spoken by minorities.

In this peculiar multilingual situation these people had the need for a common language for their inter-community social transactions. Of the languages listed above, Oriya had the benefit of being chosen as the 'lingua franca' of the region because of its royal patronage and cultural dominance.

We learn from the history of Koraput that after the Silavamsu kings, who carved out a dominion in modern Koraput region and founded their capital at Nandapur the Suryavamsu Kings of Orissa established suzerainty over that kingdom. Shri Vinayak Deo who succeeded Pratap Ganga Raju, the last king of Silavamsu, in 1448 is supposed to be a scion of the Suryavamsu and the Nandapur kingdom was conferred to him as a mark of favour by Kapileswar Deva (Ref. Dr. N. K. Sabu, Koraput district Gazetteers, 1966, P. 59). It is probable that from the advent of the kings of Oriya discent dates the beginning of Oriya influence and the spread of Oriya language in Koraput region (Ref. Bell Op. Cit. P. 23).

But Oriya spoken in Koraput differs to a great extent from the standard Oriya speech of the coastal districts of Orissa. In the words of R. C. S. Bell "Oriya as spoken by the hill tribes in the Koraput district differs so much from the Oriya of other parts of the province as to be almost unintelligible to a new-comer. His explanation of this difference is that "Oriya now spoken in Ganjam and Koraput is the form of the language which was generally spoken in Orissa a century ago. The Oriya of Cuttack has been influenced by literary experiments and so has tended to discard words which had humble association or were considered to be characteristic of the lower classes. Koraput has long been isolated from the influence of modern Oriya literature and has thus retained the old form of the language unchanged" (Ref. op. cit. P. 56-57). But it seems there are other reasons too behind the creation and preservation of this regional Oriya speech in Koraput.

Firstly, in consideration of the peculiar archaic and tribal nature of Koraput-Oriya, we can deduce that although the cause of Oriya was boosted from the advent of the Suryavamsu rule the language had gained currency in this part of the country at a much earlier time. It may have originated from a very old form of the language which can be identified with the Odri Vibhasa. According to Markandeya an Oriya grammarian of the 16th A.D. the Odri Vibhasa is a mixed dialect which comes off by adding local words of the Odia country and of Sauraseni etc. to Sabari, alone' (Ref. Prakrtasarvasvam, edited by Dr. K. C. Acharya, Utkal University Ph. D. Thesis, P. 97). The Sutra and its commentaries are as follows:

'Vabaryām evaodri yogāt taddesyasaurasenyādeh taddesānām odra-  
desapadānām sauresanyādpadānām ca yogāt saṅgar-c chāharyām eva audri  
sūhyati. (15-9)

Needless to say the Desu dialect has the above characteristics of the Odri Vibhasa or Apabhramsa. It has affinities with the tribal languages which is indicated as Sabari Vibhasa and with Chhaisgarbi which through Eastern Hindi is descended from the Sauraseni Apabhramsa. In Grierson's opinion, all these Vibhasas Sabari Chandaī Sabari Audri and Abhri - these are all degradations, jelling down of Magadhi or Sauraseni, or of both' (Ref. The Prakrit Vibhasa, JRAS, 1918). In the absence of ample material evidences of the Odri Vibhasa, even if it is not possible to proceed any farther with this hypothesis, still it seems in all probability that Desu does represent a form of Oriya of the pre-Suryavamsu period.

Secondly, this area being a sort of meeting place of Marathi, Eastern Hindi (Chatisgarhi) and Oriya there has been a situation of language osmosis. This situation has been well described by Stenkonow when discussing the position of Halbi, Bhatri and other minor dialects of the area he says, "These dialects are the only one which can claim to be intermediary between Marathi and Oriya. \*\*\* They are not organic links but merely mechanical mixtures of all the Aryan languages which meet in the eastern part of the Central province" (I S I Vol VII, P 339). Under this circumstance, the Oriya of Koraput, having absorbed in it some of the peculiarities of Marathi and Chatisgarh dialects, has much differentiated itself from the standard Oriya dialect. Grierson, who found a trace of Desia in the form of Bhatri dialect, has remarked that "Bhatri is really a corrupt form of Oriya, with a few Marathi and Chatisgarhi forms intermingled" (I S I Vol V Pt II P 434).

In this connection it is to be remembered here that prior to the reign, of Suryavamsa, the Koraput Bastar region was not a fully non-Aryan tract and the Aryan-tongues were never unknown to the people of this region. Aryanization must have begun here centuries back, at least starting from the time of Kharavela who recruited soldiers for his army from this part of his territory during his invasion against the Rathikas and Bhojakas. It can be well imagined that the early Aryan settlers of this region introduced an Aryan language which is probably the same or a branch of the older Aryan language from which Oriya had originated. In course of time that Aryan speech took a peculiar regional shape due to its close contact with the tribal languages of the area and long isolation from the influence from the influence of the fast developing other Aryan speeches. The regional tribal Indo-Aryan speech was later on fittingly named as 'Desia'. Subsequently this speech was more and more Oriya oriented under the royal patronage of the Oriya kings of Nandapur.

Thirdly, the tribal dialects of the Munda and Dravidian families and the neighbouring Telugu language have rendered considerable influence on the Oriya dialect of Koraput and it has been corrupted to a great extent in the mouth of the tribal speakers.

On account of all these factors the Oriya speech of Koraput area has assumed a regional and tribal appearance and has been called as 'Desia'.

### II

Desia, the tribal Oriya dialect of Koraput, is the mother-tongue of the Aryans and the Arvanised tribals and the second natural language of the peoples of the non Aryan communities who are by birth bilinguals.

The following caste-communities speak Desia as their mother tongue.

(1) Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Caste group —

Rona, Domb (12117), Chandala (3798), Ghasi (4284), Palk, Mali, Goud, Thoria, Bauri (1134), Dhakkado, Dhuliya, Kalangi, Jaggali (1053), Boipari, Lohara, Valmiki (721), Sundi, Haddi (5474), Pan (5266).

It may be noted here that among these, Thoras are found only in Kaupur area, but others are scattered all over the district, occasionally concentrating at particular localities. Jaggali and Kalangi communities Desia speech is considerably Telugu oriented. Among these communities Rona, Palk, Mali, Goud, Dhakkado, Dhuliya, Lohara, Boipari are Hinduised and observe restriction on food and wear sacred thread.

## (2) Scheduled Tribe group —

Bhottoda, Pentya, Holva, Ommatya, Matia, Bhumia, Kondh (Jharia) Mahali.

Excepting the last two tribes, Jharia and Mahali who are sections of Kandha and Santal respectively, all other tribes originally belong to the Gondi stock and subsequently Aryanized to a certain extent. They have a long tradition of their settlement in Bastar-Koraput region. In their primitive period they were supposed to be speaking a form of Gondi. But at present they have all adopted dialects of the regional Indo-Aryan languages, such as Oriya, Marathi, Chhatisgarhi etc. Grierson has categorically stated that Bhatri and Halbi, the language of the Bhottadas and Holvas, are dialects of Oriya and Marathi respectively. The language of the Jharia Parajas is Halbi mixed Desia. About the language of the Pentyas Shri Gopinath Sinpathy reports: "It is reported in Gazetteer that their language is Halva which the Pentyas of Jeypur do not admit. They speak Oriya and admit Oriya to be their only language" (Adivasi, 1963-64, No. 3, P 161). Rest of the tribes, Ommatya, Matia, Bhumia and Mahali, speak almost pure Desia.

The following non-Aryan communities speak Desia as a second language. (The first number on the side indicate total population and the second number indicates the number of Desia speakers).

Tribes	Total population	Speakers of Tribal speech	Speakers of Desia as second language	Speakers of Desia as natural language
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Bagtia	1,374	(Telugu—683))		691
Bonda ..	4,677	Remo	4,254	
Dharua ..	4,888	Gondi	..	4,884
Dideyi ..	1,978	Gota	1,978	..
Gadba ..	42,560	Gutob 31,791	23,653	7,585
Gond ..	55,272	Gondi — 18,098	12,970	35,747
Jatapu	10,583	Koya 5,971	1,238	2,457
Kondadora	15,808	(Telugu — 9,069)	(2,217)	5,552
Kondh ..	2,71,698		..	49,191
		Jharia — 2,032	1,735	

Tribes	Total population	Speakers of Tribal speech	Speakers of Desia as second language	Speakers of Desia as natural language
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		Kondh —	78,457	20,882
		Konda —	10,930	668
		Koya —	22,079	6,877
		Kui —	1,03,299	23,139
Kotla ..	3,447	Kondh	..	23,446
Koya .	53,590	Koya —	53,152	9,828
Mirdha ..	732	Kharis	..	509
Munda ..	5,892	Munda	..	5,000
Paronga	6,702	Gorum —	767	767
Paroja ..	1,41,694		..	52,281
		Parji —	83,901	13,751
		Kul —	3,221	1,423
		Pengs —	1,254	115
Santal ..	990	Santali	..	983
Saora .	36,329	Saora —	24,401	3,310
Sabara (Lodha) .	17,583	Saora —	4,348	1,945

(Reference—1961 District Census Hand-Book, Koraput and Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Pt. II-C (H) Language Tables).

Note—

1971—CENSUS FIGURES (Koraput)

Total Population	..	20,43,281
Scheduled Tribes	..	11,51,231 (56.24%)
Scheduled Castes	..	2,74,115 (13.41%)

## Major Tribes

Bagaja	.	21
Bhottada	..	1,90,979
Bhumia	..	61,901
Bhuiya	..	6,262
Bonda	.	5,334
Dharua	..	6,318
Dideyi	..	2,154
Gadba	.	46,237
Gond	.	66,991
Halva	.	5,501
Jatapu	.	7,802
Kondh	.	3,25,144
Kondadorn	..	8,129
Kotin	.	7,022
Koya	..	58,912
Mahali	.	110
Matya	.	2,594
Munda	.	1,517
Omanetya	—	17,245
Parenga	—	3,029
Paroja	—	1,93,736
Pesita	—	4,349
Santal	—	1,677
Saora	—	28,359
Sabara (Lodha)	..	35,430
Unclassified	—	55,203

## III

Desia is spoken within an area of 7,571 Sq miles comprising the subdivisions of Koraput Sadar, Jeypore, Nawarangpur and Malkangiri in the district of Koraput. This district lying between 20°3' and 17°50' north latitudes and 81°27' and 84°1' east longitudes resembles the shape of the Roman letter 'y'. Desia is roughly spoken in the area covered by the left horn and the tail of the alphabet.

Desia speaking areas can be divided into the following three tracts to demarcate local variations of the dialect —

1. Nandapur area — (Padwa, Lamteput, Nandapur, Sembguda, Portangi Koraput, Laxmipur).
2. Nawarangpur area — (Nawarangpur, Umakote, Papdahanda, Tentulikhanti).
3. Malkangiri area — (Govindpali, Chitrakonda, Mathili).

The main reason behind the local variations is concentrated habitation of a particular community in a particular locality. Other minor reasons are— influence of neighbouring languages, isolation by natural barrier and contact with modern civilization through establishment of industries, Government offices and educational institutions.

Nandapur may be treated as the focal area of the dialect. This place was the main centre of culture in the Koraput region since the 4th century A.D. when the Silavamsi kings first established their capital at Nandapur. Their successors, the Oriya kings of Suryavamsa continued to rule from Nandapur till Vikram Deva, the seventh king of the dynasty (1637-1669) transferred the Capital to Jeypore. Hence Desia spoken in and around Nandapur seems to be the real form of the dialect.

The early Oriya settlers of Nandapur originally came to the place as the soldiers and attendants of the Oriya kings. In the words of R. C. S. Bell "They fitted themselves into the scheme of life in the district and adopted many of the hillman's easy-going ways as well as some of the rusticities of his speech" (Ref op cit P. 63). Their descendants are now found among such castes as Roma, Mah, Goud, Park, Kumar etc.

The Romas occupy a superior position in the social hierarchy. According to tradition their ancestors came to Nandapur in the good old days and took military service under the kings there. Their caste name Roma is derived from the Sanskrit word *ramp* meaning battle as they were a warrior class. They do not accept food from any other caste or tribe except the Brahmins. Even when they pay visit to their relatives, families including those of married daughter, they do not eat from their cooking, but cook their own food in new pots. (Ref. Notes on the Romas of Koraput, B. Chowdhury, Adibasi — 1964-65, No. 2 P. 51). Because of this sort of status consciousness, they have maintained a sort of cultural solidarity in the midst of the multifarious tribal communities. Naturally, their speech has been less corrupted from the influence of the surrounding languages. Desia spoken by the Romas represent the standard form of the dialect.



The Desia speech of the Rona of Nandapur forms the basis of the present study on the Desia dialect of Koraput.

Dandu Hanthai who belongs to the Hanthai (Seake) exogamous clan of the Rona society, and who lives just in front of the famous Silavamsi throne of 32 steps in Nandapur served as the main informant for the dialect. He thinks of himself to be 45 years old. He has learnt to read and write Oriya but has not achieved enough proficiency. He works as a professional 'Disari' in his spare times. Above all, he is very proud of his Desia language and their Aryan-Non-Aryan mixed cultural heritage.

#### IV

This work on the Desia dialect contains three sections—Grammar, Text and Dictionary.

In the Grammar section a description of the language has been given under these three sub-sections: Phonemics, Morphology and Syntax. Efforts have been made to point out the main differences between Oriya and Desia in the 'Notes' provided with each of the items.

In the Text-section the items have been carefully compiled to include materials of varied interest and importance. It could not be possible to provide translation of all the items for fear of increasing the bulkiness of the work. However, almost all the words occurring in the text have been included in the dictionary.

In the Dictionary-section cognates from other languages have been given with a view to throwing some light on the historical background of the dialect. The main objectives have been to show—the archaic and tribal nature of Desia, its affinities with Halbi and Chatusgarhi, and the influence of the Non-Aryan languages, particularly of Telugu on it.

Brief sketches of the two other contiguous dialects of Oriya, namely, Bhatril and Jharis—have been given in the appendix.

# **DESIA**

**A TRIBAL ORYA DIALECT**

## **SECTION-I**

**GRAMMAR**

## O. Phonemic Inventory

## O. 1. Segmental Phonemes

## O. 1.1. Vowels

i e ə u  
a

## O. 1. 2. Consonants

p t ʃ c k  
b d ʒ j g  
s  
m n N  
i  
r ʔ  
w y

## O. 2. Suprasegmental Phonemes

Nasalization — indicated by /—/ at the top  
Length — indicated by /.. / after vowels  
Juncture — indicated by /- / within words  
Stress — indicated by /, / on the side

## O. 3. Evidence for Contrast

In order to establish the Phonemic Inventory contrast between suspected pairs of phonemes is set out in the following matrices. The number in the cells refer to the examples

## O. 3. 1 Vowel Contrast

	i	e	ə	a	o	u
i						
e					2	
ə						
a	3			4	5	6
o						
u						7

## O. 3. 2. Vowel—Semi-vowel Contrast

	i	u
y	8	
w		9

## 0. 3. 3. Consonant Contrast

	p	b	t	d	ʈ	ɖ	c	ɟ	k	g	s	m	a	N	l	r	ʀ
p	10																
b										11							
t				12	13	14											
d				15	16		17										
ʈ						18											19
ɖ																20	21
c								22		23							
ɟ									24								
k																25	
g																	
s												26					
m														27	28		
a																29	
N																	30
l																	
r																	

## Examples—

1. i/o	ila-sickle ela-happened ki-wbat ke-who	mie-mix mes-moustache
2. e/a	ek-one ak-call se-be sa-companion	ɕei-post ɕali-pulses
3. ɔ/a	ola-fire-torch ela-happened kaja-inch kaje-therefore	ote-ford ete-root
4. ɔ/a	oki-tonail iki-eye kɔla-eat kula-atc	per-other per-cave kaco-owl kila-ripe

5. a/o	al-tremble ol-haag go, town got-leg	oona-eaves ocna-bed sae-hundred son-sleeps
6. a/u	aja-haht uja-right par-other pur-flood	kaja-tch kasu-coon
7. u/o	ut-fly bauni-pud on head zu-steem	ot-wear kaoni-food ao-come
8. i/y	gai-cow kaiju-I told	gay-sings goyi-bison
9. u/w	lun-a bird huari-son's wife	melwa-wild-cat pahwau-new leaves to come out
10. p/b	par-cave pabui-rock cap-press	bar-twelve bahli-I thought cab-bite
11. b/m	boira-deaf jubri-bell-metal cup cab-bite	mbira-piper dumri-licious glomerata cam-skin
12. t/d	tin-three sator-seventeen set-true	din-day sader-front-yard sed-dig-out
13. t/t	tal, plate putla-pupil barai-plough-string	tal-rafter paila-blossomed barai-pumple
14. t/f	tuma-bottle-gourd tager-thread bider-inside bat-rice	duma-ghost gager-tunnel bider-to flee bat-fence
15. d/t	dek-see bed-pierce mutra-who urinates	jek-lift bet-pick up mulla-log
16. d/p-t	duma-fat badru-pestle kadks-rough mad-wine	duma-ghost bidru-very fleet karku-martock maq-corpse
17. d/j	dwar-door padra-characterless sud-pure	jusr-sauntaton pajra-water spring sug-to repay

18. t/ʃ-r	teN-stuck bat-way cika-cricket bulru-bullocks to low	ʃeN-bat bat fence cika-sparks bidru-very fleet
19. l/r	lok-to peck kaŋa-wine-vessel bat way	rak-to grate karna-gully bar-twelve
20. ʃ/r	ʃun-ladle mar-die marʃ-pestilence birʃa-bamboo lath	ruu-cotton mar-corpse caŋri-divorced woman bidru-very fleet
21. ʃ/r	camʃa-covered pavilion reʃi-heel, sole gaŋra ram	camʃa-akin bat-loam puʃra-buffalo-calf
22. c/ʃ	canu-thatch kaca-duri mac-fish	janu-priest keja-rat maj-russ
23. c/ʃ	car-ash ocua-bed mac-fish	sar-substance esna-eaves mas-month
24. k/g	kaŋa-hare bakra-room nak-nose	gaŋa-wasp bakra-cracked (pot) nag-a snake
25. g/N	bag-tiger ʃəgər-tunnel agli-holding firmly	baN-break ʃəNga-mountain aŋli-finger
26. m/u	mal-creeper kam-work joŋpa-jute joŋom-birth	nal-gully kan-ear joŋka-pendant joŋan-police
27. ŋ/N	joŋ-moon *oŋka-spoon puŋla-sifted	joŋN-thigh oŋga-load in one side poŋla-cheated
28. ŋ/l	nuu-new kan-ear piŋa-hammer	luu-iron kal-pot piŋa-beaten
29. l/r	ruu-cotton par-cave perka-two-piece-coun	luu-iron pal-plough-share poika-hollow
30. t/ʃ-r	ar-and camra-cobbler ruu-cotton karka-wall-niche	aŋ-bone camra-skin ʃua-ladle kaŋki-matlock

## 0.3.4. Nasalization Contrast

i/ĩ	āla-zindā	e/ē	bet-pick up,
	īla-brick-oven		hēt-hunting
e/ē	kāṣa-bitter	a/ā	ai-eight
	kāṣa-bell-metal		āt-tight
o/ō	meṁa-bro-cousin	u/ū	kut-pound
	sasā-village nobility		kāt-puller

## 0.3.5. Length Contrast

i/ĩ	jīla-daughter	e/e	seīa-that
	jī..īa-lived		se...īa-that yonder
ə/ə̃	sarīa-field in the valley	a/a	kāl-yesterday
	sə...rīa-town people		kā...lī-cigar
o/õ	poṭa-having burnt	u/u	kura-hood
	po...ra-dirty		ku...ra-mist

## 0.3.6. Juncture Contrast

kəni	cow-dung cake
*kər-si	he will do
ḡumbe	ghost
ḡum-bar	to drive to fetch water
ḡurni	lotus
ḡur-ni	please enter
dari īla	sharp sickle
dari āla	brought away
rampəṭ	scratch
ram-pəl	apple

## 0.3.7. Stress contrast

*pala/seedling	*kōla/soot
pala/go away	kō'la/he did
*duar/door	*sapa/clean
du'ar/you carry	sapa'/whole lot





/p/ Voiceless bi-labial stop	/pet/—greed
/b/ Voiced bi-labial stop	/bet/—ball
/t/ Voiceless dental stop	/tig/—wire
/d/ Voiced dental stop	/dir/—wood
/tʃ/ Voiceless retroflexed stop	/tʃh/—rafter
/dʒ/ Voiced retroflexed stop	/dʒ/—leaf
/tʃ/ Voiceless alveo-palatal stop	/tʃʌʃ/—ash
/dʒ/ Voiced alveo-palatal stop	/dʒʌ/—fire
/k/ Voiceless velar stop	/kas/—coin
/g/ Voiced velar stop	/gʌʒ/—bangle
/s/ Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative	/sʌn/—tin
/m/ Voiced bi-labial nasal	/mʌ/—creeper
/n/ Voiced alveolar nasal	/nʌ/—small

It has allophonic variations before homorganic stops which assume the quality of the stop that follows.

(p) occurs before cerebrals	/tʌp/—mouth
(n) occurs before dentals	/bʌnd/—pond
(a) occurs before alveo-palatals	/ʌvʌn/—evening

/N/ Voiced velar nasal	/rʌN/—red
/l/ Voiced alveolar lateral	/lʌg/—near
/r/ Voiced alveolar flap	/rʌ/—cotton
/ɾ/ Voiced retroflexed flap	/gʌɾ/—river
w/ Voiced frictionless bilabial continuant	/wʌ/—a fruit

Its allophonic variant assumes the phonetic value of non-syllabic /w/.  
/jwʌ/—salvation

y/ Voiced frictionless palatal continuant	/jʌ/—frying pan
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It has an allophone with the phonetic value of non-syllabic /j/.  
/kʌjʌ/—peg

## 2.2. Vowels

There are six-way contrast in vowel qualities. All of them exhibit certain general allophonic characteristics

- (a) Each has a lengthened counterpart of the same quality. Length can be taken to be phonemic when it is contrastive.

(b) Each vowel can occur both oral and nasal. Nasalization is phonemic.

(c) Oral vowels become slightly nasalized when occurring contiguous to a nasal phoneme.

(d) Except /a/ and /o/ each has a weak-voiced short quality

/i/ Voiced high close front unrounded vocoid      /pɪn/—straw

Allophones—Nasalized (ɪ̃)

Long (iː) or (iɪ)  
Short (i)

/e/ Voiced mid close front unrounded vocoid      /kɛtə/—idiot

Allophones—Nasalized (ē̃)  
Long (eː) or (ee)  
Short (e)

/ə/ Voiced mid close central unrounded vocoid.      /kɛə/—owl

Allophones—Nasalized (ə̃)

Long (əː) or (əə)  
Short (ə)

/a/ Voiced low open central unrounded vocoid      /pʌr — cave

Allophones—Nasalized (ā̃)  
Long (aː) or (aa)

/ɔ/ Voiced mid close back rounded vocoid.      /gɒpənz/—sling

Allophones—Nasalized (ō̃)  
Long (oː) or (oo)

/u/ Voiced high close back rounded vocoid      /dʌmz/—fat

Allophones—Nasalized (ū̃)

Long (uː) or (uu)  
Short (u)

## 2. Distribution of Segmental Phonemes

### 2.1. Distribution in general

#### 2.1.1 Distribution of Vowels

All the vowels, oral and nasal, occur in all positions (initial, medial, and final positions with the exception that the nasal qualities of /ɛ/ does not occur initially and of /o/ occurs only medially

Weakly voiced short vowel qualities occur in the transition that takes place between consonants which cluster at syllable boundary

Long vowels contrast with short qualities only in the initial syllables.

Vowels		Initial	Medial	Final
Oral	Nasal			
i		/iʔ/fibre	/bɔl/hole	/ai/yawn
	i	/isa/cavy	/ʔija/eye-ball	/si/sew
u		/uʔ/fly	/bʊl/roam	/su/vapour*
	u	/uc/high	/duuri/mist	/mu/face
e		/eʔu/Head	/bəl/sun	/sə/ha
	e		/ləj/tail	/ʔe/jump
o		/or/wear	/bəl/tell	/pə/son
	o		/jaola/twin	
ə		/əʔu/cave	/bəl/good	/ʔeə/owl
	ə	/əʔ/duck	/bəra/bumble-bee	/gə/wheat
a		/aʔ/bone	/bəl/hair	/aun/new
	a	/asa/funny	/səp/snake	/suə/meliet
Short	Long			
i			/mɔlɔncika/glow-worm	
	i		/pɔda/he drank	
u			/gudun/hullock	
	u		/duuʔa/doubling	
e			/tɛŋʔeka/chameleon	
	e		/ʔeej/numb	
ə			/ʔəkəʔu/cup	
	ə		/mɔəl/coastly	

## 2.1.2. Distribution of Consonants

All except /N, ɿ, y, w/ occur initially before vowels.

All except /N/ occur medially in between vowels and after or before one other consonant.

All except /w/ occur finally

/N/ occurs medially before consonants only.

/ʔ/ occurs medially when preceded by /n, r/ or followed by /r/, and finally after nasals only

Allophones of /n/ (n, ɳ, ɲ)—occur only before homorganic stops.

Non-syllabic allophones of /y, w/ occur as transitions -jy/ between front vowels, /w/ between back vowels

Aspirated allophones of stops occur only in final position of closed and stressed syllables.

Consonants	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/ (p) (ph)	/Pakna/ stone	/kapur'-elbow joint	pap/sin /kamph/-phelgum
/b/ (b) (bh)	bakna/-riddle	/kabaʃ/-work	/lab/ gain /lobh/-greed
/t/ (t) (th)	/tuk/-spit	/potar/-leaf	but, much /rath/-car
/d/ (d) (dh)	/duk/-pain	/podəm/-palm	/bad/-root /sadb/-pure
/ʃ/ (ʃ) (th)	/ʃaʃ/-rafter	/kulum/-kinsman	/ba/-way /kaʃ wood
/ʃʰ/(ʃ) (dh)	/ʃaʃ/-leaf	/ʃəʃer/-roar /biʃru/-fleet /berʃa/bamboolath	/ʃənd/-punishment
/c/ (c) (ch)	/casi/-mushroom	/pacura/-blood lessness	/kac/-glass /machi/-fence
/ʈ/ (ʈ) (h)	/ʈata/-caste	/paʈur/-roof frame	/kaʃ/-work /boʃh/-heavy
/k/ (k) (kh)	/kaʃ/-pit	/kaʃer/-cold	/pak/-oar /nakh/-nail
/g/ (g) (gh)	/gaʃ/-check	/joʃaʃ/-moss	/paʃ/-turban /baʃh/-uger
/m/ (m)	/mai/-creeper	/jomani/-police	/jom/-death-god
/n/ (n) (a) (n) (n)	/nai/-gully	/ʃənən/-birth /bana/-fan /manʃru/-a delicacy /ʃantʃ/-intestine	/ʃən/-moon
/N/ (N)		/daNra/-youngman /ʃaʃgi/-battle-axe	/kerdN/-loin cloth
/ʃ/ (s)	/sira/-ink	/ʃəʃer/-free gift	/mas/-month
/ʃ/ (ʃ)	/ʃəm/-long	/ʃəʃer/-liver	/cal/-skin
/t/ (t)	/raʃn/-hair	/ʃeʃʃ/-loan	/car/-ash
/t/ (t)		/ʃəʃN/-earth-worm	/baʃ/-fence
/y/ (y) (ae) (af)		/ʃaya/-mother /ʃəʃeʃ/-dog-fly /ʃəʃil/-bison	/ʃay/-flying pan
/w/ (w) (aa) (ou)		/moʃwa/-wild-cat /seruʃaʃ/-centipede /goʃw/-berdman	

## 2.2 Distribution in Sequence

## 2.2.1 Distribution of Vowels

All the vowels occur in sequence with other vowels

Non-syllabic vowels *y, w* occur between the sequences optionally

Sequences of *i-o, a-a, u-e, u-o, u-o, a-e, a-o, o-e*, occur only in the inflected forms for certain tenses and cases.

Sequences of some vowels can be better treated as long-vowels

Clusters of syllabic and non-syllabic vowels represent certain complex units which can be treated as diphthongs */v/*

2.2.1.1. Two-Vowel Sequences are represented in the following matrix. Numbers refer to the list of examples.

V2—		<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
V1—	<i>i</i>	1	2	3	4	5
	<i>e</i>	6	7	8	9	10
	<i>o</i>	11	12	13	14	15
	<i>a</i>	16	17	18	19	20
	<i>u</i>	21	22	23	24	25
	<i>o</i>	26	27	28	29	30

*Examples*

1. *nə* *piə*—does not drink
2. *hə*—to throw
3. *hiən*—seed
4. *jiənə*—living
5. *piə*—let him drink
6. *te*—there
7. *neə*—let them take
8. *seə*—that side
9. *keu*—fisherman
10. *meənə*—cousin
11. *gə*—glance
12. *seə*—cushion for pots
13. *nə* *uə*—I shall not come
14. *mə*—prestige
15. *kə*—shell

16. sai—porcupine
17. be:ne—in the field
18. kant—let them eat
19. kau:—carrying yoke
20. gao—sore
21. mu—I
22. na su—does not sleep
23. sust—let them sleep
24. buari—daughter-in-law
25. soo—let him sleep
26. ko—where
27. go:ta—flee
28. boot—let them carry
29. boal—bearer
30. kout—funny

2' 1 2. There are Three-Vowel Sequences of the following types. These sequences are generally found across morpheme boundaries.

i a i	/fai/	to cool hot food
i a u	/no ciu/	we do not cause to touch
i a o	/ciuo/	let him cause to touch
i a e	/siau/	let him cause to sow
u a i	/fui/	son-in-law
u a u	/kauu/	we feed
u a o	/kiao/	let him feed
u a e	/kuei/	let them feed
o o i	/no oti/	I would not have been
o o u	/no ou/	we do not be
o u e	/no uei/	let them not be
o o u	/no ou/	let him not be
o a i	/no ai/	I shall not come
o i u	/kai u/	come, having told
a i a	/fai/	peacock's feather

## 2' 2' 2. Distribution of Consonants

Consonant clusters never occur in a word initially

Clusters of nasals and homorganic stops (N-S), s-l, and 'r-k' only occur in a word finally.

e.g./tan/ mouth, /es/ —May—June, /mork/ —dunce

Sequences of two and three consonants (—VC—CV—, —VC—CCV—VCC—CV) occur within a word between syllables, across morpheme boundaries and pre or post junctural positions. These sequences may be of the following three types—

1. Homorganic
2. Identical
3. Heterorganic

**2.2.2.1 Homorganic sequences**, which can be really treated as clusters are constituted of nasal plus corresponding stop (N+S) and they occur prominently in three-consonant sequences—(CVCnC—CV)—/paŋŋi—'šim (CVC—CnCv)—goruŋa—'one piece Homorganic Nasal+Stop Clusters also occur at intervocalic positions but only between closed syllables—(VCnCv)—/muŋŋa—'embarkment

when they occur in open syllables there is a strong tendency to replace the cluster by the nasalization of the preceding vowel—(CVCnCVC)—(CVCVC)—/peŋŋom;—'pedom—'rice beer gəŋŋi—'gəŋŋi—to persist

**2.2.2. Sequences of identical phonemes** are found mostly in inflected forms of verbs. There always occurs an open transition in between the contacting consonants.

e.g. /kel-la—'he played, bə-sa—'he will sit. Geminated consonants are very rare and occur only in stressed morphemes.

e.g. /kəkkəyā—'a sitting position gātē galēm—'he is singing while going.

**2.2.2.3. Sequence of heterorganic consonants**, barring the single exception of /s—t/, should not be called clusters. as in such situations syllabic division or open transition occurs between the consonants—e.g.

( VCCV )—( VC—CV— ) (VCVCV)—/paŋ-ra—'spring ten-ke—to—that side Again many of the sequences occur due to morphophonemic changes that take place in various morphological constructions, such as, inflection for various tenses and cases—(e.g. mā-sa—'he will die, gə-ke—to the tree), formation of infinitives and verbal nouns—(e.g. kər-bar—to do, duk-na (fan), operation of vowel-deletion rule in disyllabic roots—(e.g. kurac—'kurei deli l poked.

In *Two-Consonant-Sequences* ( C' C' ) all occur as first element (C') and all, except N, occur as second (C') element

In *Three-Consonant-Sequences* two of the consonants always appear in cluster and the other follows or precedes them at the border of a separate syllable. The shape of the sequences appear as ( VCC—CV— ) or ( VC—CCV ). When the first two cluster they are always homorganic nasal plus stop (N+S) and the third elements that follow are generally /k, l, t, n, s, r, ɹ/

When the last two cluster they are either homorganic nasal plus stop (N+S) or /s+ɹ/ and only /r/ precedes them as first element

*Examples—*

(i)—VCnC—CV

nk	/n/	'banks crooked, /rənkn. grater
nt	/r l/	/tənti throat, /gənti sufficed
nɔ	/k r/	/s'tendka/'cameleon, /muŋŋa bald, /māŋŋa/circle, /muŋŋsek body-deep
nt	/n r l/	'untai/intestine, /tantra/sly, /tənti/tamarind
nd	/n r t/	'bndra chisel, /tendra idler, / bōndha/door-frame
mp	/r/	/tempriya/rude





*Examples*

1. 2. /nap-ba/ I shall measure

3. /nap-ti/ I would measure

5. /cipki/ off season paddy

6. /kapdu/ careless

9. /upka/ floating

11. /map-si/ he shall measure

13. /dupni/ innocence

15. /kupli/ hillock

16. /kupri/ skull

17. /upta/ to spatter

2. 2. /bab-ba/ I shall think

3. /bab-ti/ I would think

7. /dob cema/ pea

9. /ahka/ unmixed

11. /gabsa-/ abortion

13. /babna/ thought

15. /tabla/ brass-bowl

16. /lobna/ greedy

17. /kubna/ hunch-back

3. 2. /mat-bi/ I shall get drunk

3. /mat-ti/ I would get drunk

9. /utka/ to jump

10. /at guna/ lower intestine

11. /mat-si/ he shall get drunk

12. /tatmuri/ bitter gourd

13. /atna/ resting on back

15. /putla/ eye ball

16. /satra/ father in law

4. 1. /oad puni/ cheese water

2. /udba/ rising

3. /pud-ti/ I would wear

9. /kadka/ rough

11. /mad sur/ wine

13. /gadna/ vaccination

15. /kadli/ plantain

16. /badra/ ferocious

5. 1. /bat paura/ gate-keeper

2. /pet-ba/ I shall strike

3. /pet-ti/ I would strike

8. /pet ja/ chaff-fire

9. /petkar/ fraud

10. /gotgufa/ to cook

11. /pota/ a kind of crab

12. /potni/ to rot

13. /catna/ basket

15. /kalkam/ reward

16. /potri/ pregnant

6. 9. /bangka/ fatty, dwarf

10. /puqga/ leaf cup

11. /munjuk/body-deep

15. /gunqda/ tangled

16. /bidru/ very fleet

7. 2. /nac-bi/ I shall dance

3. /nac-ti/ I would dance

9. /pcka go li/ sprayer

11. /nac-si/ he will dance

13. /ocna/ bed

15. /bicliya/ slimy

16. /icacra/ sweepings

8. 1. /pej pans / food and drink  
 2. /maj-bi / I shall scour  
 3. /maj-ti / I would scour  
 9. /jejka / complication  
 11. /maj-si he shall scour  
 13. /buga right hand  
 15. /bejti / lightning  
 16. /pajra spring

9. 1. /pakpak/to breath and blow  
 2. /jek-bi/I shall raise  
 3. /pekta/ripe  
 5. /ekta/alone  
 11. /kaksu/tnik  
 12. /bek muna/bag  
 13. bakna riddle  
 15. /sikli/chain  
 16. /akra, old man  
 17. /bakra/billy

10. 2. /lag-bi I shall fight  
 3. /agtu/fist  
 6. /ragdli/loose  
 11. /bigu/to bloom  
 13. /jogu jatak/almanac  
 15. /kaga aɽ/collar bone  
 16. /ugra/jealous  
 17. /gag'a bill hook

11. 1. /apana/dew  
 2. /kas-bi/I shall plough  
 3. /susta/healthy  
 5. /jogu/god  
 9. /okara/dirt  
 10. /ogtana/nose ornaments

11. /koe-si/he will plough  
 12. /bamya/slender  
 13. /basna/odour  
 15. /nasla, spoilt  
 16. /tari, wire

12. 1. /jom pur/heaven  
 2. /dum-bar/to dive  
 3. /umta, swollen  
 4. /sandi/relative  
 5. /kamti split bamboo  
 6. /kumga/pumpkin  
 7. /gumca/skirt  
 8. /kamp- 'to fade

12. 9. /camka shell  
 10. /ramguša/a string instrument  
 11. /gumsa/blow with fist  
 13. /dumti/spoon  
 15. /botli/navy  
 16. /camra/cobbler  
 17. /dumti/fatty woman

13. 1. /japa/jute  
 2. /sunbun/a ghost  
 3. /manti/respect  
 4. /an duriya 'to swear  
 5. /kon-ta, which one  
 7. /raa cuna/powdery  
 8. /banja/nephew  
 9. /onka/ladle  
 10. /kan gu, ear wax  
 11. /sun-si/he will listen  
 15. /sanu/younger wife

14. 2. /maN-bi/ I shall beg

3. /maN<sup>u</sup>ya/ beggar5. /beN<sup>i</sup>/toad6. /<sup>i</sup>diN<sup>i</sup>aga/ watery

11. /maN-si/ he shall beg

13. /maN<sup>u</sup>/begging

15. /maN-di/ I begged

16. /piN<sup>i</sup> bej—/bird hunting17. /peN<sup>i</sup>/gate

15. 1. /telpa/ lustruous

2. /culbu/ to shiver

3. /kelta/ planting a house

4. /okdi/ yellow

5. /golti/ enclosure

6. /su<sup>h</sup>daN/ carrying staff

7. /melaka/ castrated

8. /t<sup>h</sup>ji-/to choke

9. /elka/ wave

10. /s<sup>h</sup>ga/ a score

11. /tsu/ linseed

12. /elma/ white ant

13. /k<sup>h</sup>ni/ starch

15. /kel-i/ I played

16. /aira/ bothersome

16. 1. /karpa/ declivity

2. /arbej/ water melon

3. /turta/ fresh

4. /merda/ ceiling

5. /p<sup>h</sup>ta beg/ a witch6. /bir<sup>h</sup>a/ bamboo lath

7. /jirca/ bird's intestine

8. /turjala/ scaffolding

9. /p<sup>h</sup>ka/ two-piece coin

10. /airgali/ ear ring

11. /karsa/ cow-dung cake

12. /kurma/ heap

13. /gurna/ a lizard

15. /tarla/ rain shelf

17. 1. /karpa/ paddy stems

2. /u<sup>h</sup>ba/ to fly

3. /butti/ sinking

4. /go<sup>h</sup>di/ ditch

9. /kurka/ cup

10. /g<sup>h</sup>ga/ a kind of rat11. /g<sup>h</sup>sa/ a unit of measure12. /k<sup>h</sup>ma/ large pot13. /ba<sup>h</sup>ni/ broom15. /ga<sup>h</sup>ta/ fixed16. /ga<sup>h</sup>ra/ ram

## II SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

## 3. Description and Distribution

## 3.1 Nasalization —

Nasalization occurs with all the vowels. It is phonemic and can be treated as suprasegmental phoneme.

e. g. *gao* 'sore' — *giŋo* 'village'. Each oral vowel becomes slightly nasalized when occurring contiguous to a nasal phoneme.

e. g. *maɪsɪ* > *mɔ̃isɪ* 'buffalo'  
*daNaia* > *dəNaia* 'youngman'

In such environments nasalization of the vowel is predictable and may not be treated as phonemic.

In nasal plus stop (N + S) sequences nasalization occurs with the preceding vowel at intervocalic positions. It replaces the nasal consonant and a non-phonemic nasal transition follows the nasalized vowel.

[CVCnCV]	>	[C <sup>V</sup> -CV]
<i>saNkoɪ</i>	>	<i>sakɔɪ</i> 'narrow'
<i>maɪda</i>	>	<i>mɔ̃da</i> 'herd'
<i>ʃɔŋa</i>	>	<i>ʃɔ̃a</i> 'padding'

## 3.2. Length —

Length or prolongation can be taken to be phonemic as *i* is contrastive. Two utterances being composed of same articulatory motions render different meanings due to contrast only in the duration of the utterances.

Long and short vowels contrast only within the initial syllable of a word.  
 e. g. *ʃi:baɪ* 'to go' — *ʃi. baɪ* 'to live'.

It is to be noted here that all the vowels tend to be long in some environments. Although phonetically almost every word contains one long vowel, the non-phonemic long vowels generally occur in the penultimate position of a closed syllable and in the final position of a consonant cluster.

e. g. *əla* p. 'little', *əna* s. 'police', *ba. ɔ̃* 'field' (*abba* 'biting' *əŋka*, 'adie', *pajm*, *gala* 'got rotten')

## 3.3. Juncture —

Identical phonemic sequences meaning differently in different utterance medial positions prove the presence of a phonetic phenomena which can be identified as a suprasegmental phoneme of juncture. It occurs at the border places where grammatical units come together. It is phonetically characterized by a slight pause and allophonic features of the segments that precede and follow.

e. g. *kəɪsɪ* 'cow-dung cake' /*kəɪ-sɪ* 'he will do'. Sharp juncture is very rare in Dena.

It may be noted here that in slow pronunciation a syllable juncture is predictable. It falls on the first consonant if the interlude contains single consonant [CVCV], but if there are more consonants it falls on the final consonant [CVCVCV]. That is why in rapid speech the peripheral -C- and not the nuclei -V- is preserved.

e.g. *kardə* > *karda* 'whip', *tokuli* > *sikli* 'chain' / *panə* > *panə* 'fair cloth'

### 3.4. Stream— $P$ .

Stress has phonemic value on a very limited number of words in Desia as it is a predictable phoneme in this dialect.

All monosyllabic utterances carry the highest degree of stress.

In words of more than three syllables there is always secondary stress on some subsequent syllables and usually it falls on that syllable which is farthest from the primarily stressed syllable.

e.g. /pɑː/ -cave, /kə/ (k) -bar/to dig with spade, /gə/ (g) -tuck, /tə/ -rawali  
centipedes, /d̪ə/ -dark

Stress is more distinctive in utterances with consonant/vowel clusters in the first or second syllable.

e.g. /'tʌŋdʒ/mouth, /æz'ti/property, /kəndə/ k/a bit.

## III SYLLABLES

## 4.1 Description of Syllable

The Syllable is the minimum unit of phonological word structure. Every utterance consists of one or more such units. Every syllable consists of a nucleus filled up by a vowel or a combination of vowel plus non-syllabic vocoid (V-VV) and an optional string of consonants as onset or coda.

## 4.2 Syllable Patterns

The following types of Syllable structure are found in Desai

1. Single Phoneme	V	'a lo:me, n la:suckle
2. Two Phonemes	VC	/ar/and, /ma:fi, mea:
	CV	/se/he, ja:p/today
3. Three Phonemes	VCC	/in/ walk, on, ora'male
	CVC	/gar/house, ju jan'boul
	CCV	/ser sja/no fondle, ma:da/herd
4. Four Phonemes	CVCC	/kamb, pillar, /mund ra/bald
	OCVC	/gar, ndek/one piece

## 4.4. Distribution of phonemes in Syllable Patterns

Syllable Patterns	Fillers
1. V	V—All vowels
2. VC	V—All vowels C—All consonants
3. CV	C—All consonants except /N/ V—All vowels
4. VC'C	V—i, u, a, e/ C—C' Nasals C'—Stops
5. C'VC'	C'—All consonants except /N/ V—All vowels C'—All consonants
6. C'C'V	C'—Nasals and /s/ C'—Stops V—All vowels
7. C'VC'C'	C'—All consonants except /N/ V—All vowels C'—Nasals, /s/ and /r/ C'—Stops
8. C'C'VC'	C'—Nasals C'—Stops V—All vowels C'—All consonants

The above account shows that (i) N, r, y, w and clusters can never occur as onset of syllables, (ii) only clusters of Nasal Stop and /s + t/ can occur as onset of non-initial Syllables, (iii) all consonants, clusters of Nasal Stop, r + /k, g/ + /r/ can occur as coda of syllables.



## Examples

1. /ila sickle
2. /una less
3. /esu this year
4. /osa medicine
5. /oru cave
6. /ata mother in law
7. /is brick
8. /u fly
9. /et sense
10. /or aerial root
11. /ai plough
12. /am mango
13. /ap to admit guilt
14. /ubra excess
15. /ad half
16. /adra roar
17. /uc high
18. /ej to remember
19. /ekia one only
20. /eg to insert
21. /as you come
22. /an / you bring
23. /Nle in self
24. /ay yes
25. /po son
26. /bo sister in law
27. /de give
28. /e jump
29. /e six
30. /i live
31. /ke who
32. /ga sing
33. /mu face
34. /ponŋu idler
35. /koya/peg
36. /nŋa walked
37. /unŋbar to search for
38. /anila sufficed
39. /anibar to thicken
40. /pap, sin
41. /bab friendship
42. /tan three
43. /dud milk
44. /tan place
45. /ŋeN tall
46. /ŋae to scrape
47. /jam guava
48. /kan ear
49. /gas grass
50. /sag / curry
51. /maj / rinse
52. /nak nose
53. /dal / slime
54. /rog / descense
55. /gaŋa making
56. /tuwal / Towel
57. /goyul bison
58. /sat / seven
59. /mot / load
60. /biŋru / very fleet
61. /bur coat
62. /baŋ big
63. /ay / hundred
64. /verŋa / to fondle
65. /jupa / bunch
66. /ponti / bow string
67. /ŋanka / rupee
68. /amba brass metal
69. /mada herd
70. /enta / dynamite
71. /gaŋa silver
72. /ŋangaram bean
73. /gaŋe a vocative word
74. /raŋŋola woundower
75. /ponŋ mas Nov-December
76. /bada chinel
77. /tenŋka chamelson
78. /ŋaŋ punishment
79. /taŋri throat
80. /ŋomons / the Domb woman
81. /canŋ / quick
82. /ŋankia pulled
83. /kundra/share
84. /ganŋu stringing together
85. /sundŋ fine, beautiful
86. /mark dance
87. /mudla blamed
88. /leadra slow walker
89. /rampa scratching
90. /esi May-June
91. /ampeŋ you scratch
92. /anŋir backyard
93. /gengot to slur
94. /anobot sour
95. /cendur vermillion
96. /anlar-luga cloth for the waist
97. /garŋek one piece
98. /ŋankal to slice, lop
99. /penŋom rice - beer



#### 4.4 Distribution of Syllables in Words

A word may have one to five syllables.

All the above types of syllable can occur at different positions in a word, excepting syllable patterns CCV and CCVC which can never occur word initially.

As regards frequency of occurrence, disyllabic words come first and next in order come monosyllables, trisyllables and other larger types.

As regards prominence, it is observed that (i) in disyllabic words when vowels are of same quality in both the syllables the first appears prominent, e.g., aa, 'vapour', but in a closed syllable the second syllable becomes prominent, e.g., a:ps /'a:z/, (ii) in trisyllables the order of prominence is 3 1 2, e.g., /tʊmli /'hɔ:ni/.

Co-occurrence of syllable types are represented in the following matrices

##### (A) Two-Syllable Sequence:--

	V	VC	VCC	CV	CVC	CCV	CVCC	CCVC
V	..	1	2	..	3	4	5	6
VC	..	..	..	..	8	9	10	11
VCC	..	..	12	..	13	..	..	..
CV	..	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
CVC	..	..	..	..	22	23	24	25
CVCC	..	..	..	26	27	..	..	..

##### Examples

1. /ai/yawn
2. /ai/care
3. /apa/elder sister
4. /uʃan/ hot
5. /ʊndə/you take
6. /setlənʃ/ to set on egg
7. /ændə/ dark
8. /bed/ bed

9. /arjon / to earn
10. /ainje nai / does not set on egg
11. /aindet nai / do not set on egg (pl)
12. /angwa / arnful
13. /andra / male
14. /agi / perceive
15. /kiai / joke
16. /niou / insufficient
17. /gari / seed-bed
18. /kamar / blacksmith
19. /paudre / fifteen
20. /bosand / bulky
21. /kandek / little
22. /qakra / oldman
23. /pekkar / friend
24. /garnqa / a piece
25. /getuqek / one piece
26. /tenqka / chameleon
27. /mundsek / body-deep

## 4. 4. 2. Three—Syllable

## Sequences—

	V	VC	CV	CVC	CCV
V V			1		
V.CV	2	3	4		5
V. CV			6		
CV.V	7	8	9		
CV.CV	10	11	12		13
CV.CVC				14	
CVC.CV	15		16	17	18
CVCC.CV	19				
CV.CCV	20		21	22	
CV.CCVC			23		
V.CCV	24		25		

*Examples*

1. /uura-kōtu/compound wall
2. /ndua/limbless
3. /udian/east
4. /oruni/door
5. /oronga/pickles
6. /orogwa/barricade
7. /jara/peacock's feather
8. /kuaw/let them feed
9. /jola/a string system
10. /pafo/a tree
11. /meqwar/disobedient
12. /tuneli/hotnet
13. /werenda/good
14. /mapersad/friend
15. /bejais/drummer
16. /dortou/earth
17. /busaa-faNi/good
18. /ku/runga/wood pecker
19. /rankwa/greedy
20. /janga/axe
21. /satalu/cold
22. /bandapon/July-August
23. /candaina/weaver's wife
24. /umbai/brazier
25. /entora/between the legs

4.4.3 Four-Syllable Words are mostly inflected forms of verbs, verbal nouns and plural forms of nouns.

a. g./kuaihu/you fed, /akalabafa/the washed one, /maijimon/the women-folk

Following types of four-syllable words are available—

V.CV V.CVC	/ahualad/	affectionate
V.CV.CV.CV	/ajimaru/	a bird
VC.CV.CV.CV	/aydabali/	rainbow
CV V.VC.CV	/amainNli/	thumb
CV.CV.CVC.CV	/milonaka/	glow-worm
CV.CV V.CV	/acrunli/	centipede
CV.CCV.CV.CV	/dangram/	bean
CV.CV.CV.CVC	/tutariḡan/	ploughman's goad
CVC.VC.V.CV	/paNesani/	sorceress
CV.CCVC.CV.CV	/mḡntarsani/	midwife

4.4.4 Five-Syllable words are rare and mostly of causative forms of verbs

e.g. kḡrḡala/	caused to comb
luhaala/	gather
juḡala	stumble

A few nouns of five-syllables are available

e.g. CVCVCVVCV	/ḡjibḡna/	dragon-fly
CVC.VVC.VCV	/mela-siya/	spend thrift
CVVCVVCVC	/tu-mḡdan/	noon
CVVCVVCV	/paḡuḡa/	women labourer
VCVCVCVCV	/ḡsatuvḡga/	envious
CVCVCVCV	/ḡamakuḡa/	slow-walker
VCCVCCVC	/uḡibḡiya	weak-minded

4.4.5 Six and seven syllable words are very rare. Such types are only seen in the inflected forms of the verbs in certain tenses.

e.g. 'pasarte-rḡla/	He was asking
'kuḡate-rḡla	He was feeding

An example of a six Syllable noun word is 'artukarḡnu 'go-between the lovers'

## APPENDIX

## Notes on General Phonological Features

Desia presents certain phonological features which are uncommon in Oriya. The following comments merely aim at showing these differences as well as throwing some light on Desia phonology in general.

## 1. Deaspiration

Deaspiration is a common tendency in Desia. In a few exceptional cases the aspirated stops optionally occur only at final positions.

e.g. bhaṭa - 'bat	'rice	bagha - bag, 'tiger'
'andhara/ 'adar	'dark'	'hala al - 'plough'
'nakha - 'nakh	'nail'	juddha - 'jodi - 'fighting'

## 2. Reduction of consonant clusters

Consonant clusters do not occur in Desia initially. The initial clusters and also clusters occurring elsewhere, are reduced to single consonants through assimilation of one with the other, insertion of vowels in between clustering consonants or anaptyxis and deletion of consonants.

Assimilation—/sru/—/su/ 'tear'	rakṭa - rakṭa/ red
ambor, amot/sour	sambor - samor does
sombor - somar Monday budibar - budar Wednesday	
uttana—/utna/lying on the back	
nak-gula/—/nāgul/ nose-ring	

Anaptyxis 'mieccha - /melac/ goat,	svada - svad, taste
petra - pēṭar leaf	padma — padam, palm
alihadā - 'a'ualad affectionate	sari - sar wife
ṭatri, —/ṭatru/pressing iron.	

## Deletion of consonants—

In homorganic nasal-stop clusters nasal phonemes are dropped through nasalization of the preceding vowel.

kuoci - kuci/ key	khunṭi/ - /kuṭi/ post
māca - mac/ scaffolding, pēṭa - /pēṭa/ mill-stone	
/kupa - kupi/ wick lamp munḍi - /muṇḍi/ circle	

## 3. Loss of consonants

In some cases the vowels in contact are retained while the consonants are dropped and in some cases the consonants are completely lost. Replacement of medial m by nasalization is another remarkable feature.

m - 'v - /dhuma- duā (smoke)	dama- daū (soothing rope)
camar - cār (plume of hair)	komāḍ - kadh (tender)
dhumari- dhuri (mist)	ṣambala- joba (mud)

### Loss of initial consonants—

pena—ena (udder) raga—an (neth)  
 tabij—bid (bracelet)  
 slama—lame (cold) sma:ana—ma:an (graveyard)

### Loss of final consonants—

sabun—sabu (soap) samayo—samo (time)  
 bitati—bita (one palm length)  
 agaira agtu (first) cavadha—asa (medicine)  
 pallava—pala (seedling) barika—bara (pipper)  
 koutuka—kout (humorous)

### Loss of medial consonants—

eghera—era (Cushion for pots), apa—ar (and)  
 rabibar—raibar (sunday), dviguna—duna (twofold)  
 mahaprasad maparsad (friend), maherga—mereg (dear)  
 patrigiha pida (interior room), taraju—taji (balance)  
 pujaka: puru (lotus), nimatraga—mala (invitation)  
 karbora—kabra (spotted), karpapa—kapra (potsherd)

### 4. Addition of Consonants

Initial: ana—asa (dirt), antika—gantsa (to suffice)  
 Medial: dhus—dunva (to butt), punal—purnal (water ways)  
 ghusa—gumsa (blow with fist)  
 mediya—merda (ceasing), kaniya—kansiya (side-man)  
 khaal—kotni (starch)

Final: mukhya—mukyam (man), bula—baram (hole), anyaya—anar (harassment)

### 5. Voicing

/k g/ kantha—gata (quilt), kandai—gadi (inner room)  
 bekas bigas (to bloom), aka:—aga: (to check)  
 /c, ɳ/—suci—taji (needle)  
 /t d/ kaju—kara (hard), sapaka:—saka: (narrow)  
 /t/—idi—pudi—pudi (vagina)  
 /p b/—bepar bebar (business), sara:—sarab (goldsmith)  
 pada—bada (instalment), jatalapi—jalat (lizard)

### 6. Metathesis

pasac—pasas (fiend), bukuc—bucka (bundle)  
 mardan ramad (to massage), garu: ragai (bawa)  
 meria—marar (Malara), pot tap (to bury)  
 rakia—rika (red), basakula—balusa (covered pavilion)

## 7. Interchange of /e/ and /a/

## (i) Assimilation—(e→a)

cira—sira (loose coins), picol—psol (to slide)  
 ceju—saju (ladle), ceti—sati (rump)  
 cirai—sirai (flag), cirua—srua (torn)  
 muccha—mes (moustache), kanculi—kasi (scales)

## (ii) Palatalization (a→e)

samuka—camka (shell), sindur—cendur (vermilion)  
 sirā—cīr (nerve), seta—cel (spear)  
 sek—cek (to bake), kousika—keca (owl)  
 saccapati—cacapati (puja materials), siment—cimp (cement)

## 8. Cerebralization—(t/d→t̪/d̪)

tilaka—lika (mark), tait—t̪ai (mat)  
 dandī—ḍandī (nose-ring), dīa—ḍīa (to be visible)

## 9. Palatalization—(t̪/d̪/k̪→t̪c/d̪c/k̪c)

tucha—cucha (empty), thoḍi—cōḍi (beard)  
 tunda—candi (lip), kuttoni—kuctn (retail seller)  
 kṣaṅk canek (moment), khara—car (ash)  
 sanepala—jānpa (jute)

## 10. Change of various consonants—

n → l — nenda — lada (jar), nai—lei—(to bend)  
 m → n — map—nap (to measure)  
 s → n — nivas nīnas (breath)  
 s → k — panga—pakna (stone)  
 /b, m, bu, / — ḍub ḍum (to dive)

## 11. Loss of Vowel—

Final vowel Final /a/ is seldom retained on account of stress on initial syllable

jara—jer (fever), kakara—kaker (cold)

Initial vowel [Aphaeresis]

agraja—gaja (shoot), alabu—lau (ground)  
 anyekara—mar (separate), abhanka—bakna (riddle)

Internal vowel

Interior vowels get lost due to contraction, want of stress, morphophonemic changes or simple elision. In disyllabic stems the vowel of the second syllable is normally deleted with the addition of any vowel affix to the stem for some morphological construction

bəhūt -but (much), unciśś -uns (nineteen)  
 komala -komela (tarned), cauri -cari (thatching)  
 əlguŋ -əlgaŋ (rope-hanger), jamc -jam (guava)  
 kharəja -karəja (fry), dənəuasi -danəsi (watchman)

### Assimilation

Assimilation of one vowel to the sounds of the neighbouring vowel occurs for ease of pronunciation. Normally unstressed vowels are assimilated.  
 paldhwa -paldā (a tree), mahū -mu (honey)

kadso -kadā (mud), chamundia -camə (covered pavilion) maṭhwa/meia (crippled)

### 12. Addition of vowel—

Prothesis—rəi—erəi (to roar)

Epenthesis—mahəvə—mavt (prestige), sapya -sarp (curse)

ənya -əja (other), manya—nsaŋ (honour)

raja—(ra)ja -raja (country)

naṭwa -nəṭa (eaves), kəhəra—kəru (brown)

#### Addition of final vowel

ru, -hed—eru (Head), tar—tara (Tar) bhedra—bətu (uncle), pa (pada)—pau (foot)

m -ga—gə (village), gha -gao (sore) nā -nə (name)

#### Addition of medial vowel—

maṇə -maṇa (meat), clra—cluri (cracked)

siti—siṭi (whistle), phəri—pəuri (shield)

saŋ -saṇa (musty mango), bahəŋ -bəuŋ (pad on head)

### 14. Spontaneous Nasalization

məyura—məjura (peacock), jəkə -jek (leech)

pohə -pə (cora), mudi -midi (an ornament)

sap -səp (snake), akhi—əki (eye)

oṭhə—əṭi (lap), pəki—əki (bird)

### 15 Change of Vowels

Change of one vowel to another vowel occurs due to mutation (anlaut), influence of neighbouring vowels (vowel harmony) and compensatory lengthening of short vowels. The quality of a vowel undergoes modification through the influence of a vowel of another quality occurring in the neighbouring syllable. Thus a low vowel, gets raised to a high quality or vice versa. Loss of inter vocalic consonants or one element of a cluster is compensated by the lengthening of the vowels.

The following types of vowel change are found in Desia

ṭi—ṭa, -cipar—cipar (to squeeze), haŋu—əruŋ (deer) bahari -bauri (external)



- e. bhigai - bema (brother in law), sandur - cendur (vermilion)  
 min - merak: (squint eyed), bndhaga - bedna (punch)  
 /a/ -pāṅ -pāṅ (to paint)  
 u - -mohuri -mari (pipe), chata - cati (mushroom) chṭ -cṭ (to touch)  
 e - japa - jeṭ (tuft of hair), muchā -mes (moustache)  
 /a/ -kauri -kaota (shell)  
 /a/ jhunka -janka (bunch), hulu -lu (fire-orch) ulanḍ -alanḍ (to set on egg), bukucā -bocka (bundle)  
 a. -sairag. -sairani (nurse), gunt -gāt (to string beads)  
 /a/ - : gheṇ -gin (to buy), gher - gur (to surround) tentu -timli (tamarind), xmenḍ -cimi (ice nem) bheik - biki (bewilderment)  
 /a/ -bāṭer -baici (carpenter), poṭr -poṭri (pregnant)  
 /a/ -cāci -caci (bird), steama -stama (cold)  
 /a/ khelus -kals (to scorch), ḍengura -ḍangra (kettle-drum) meleria meler (malaria)  
 /a/ /u bhokā -buk (hunger), okaḥ -ukaḥ (vomit)  
 gosta -gusta (gang), dbok -ḍuk (to gulp)  
 /a/ khosa -kosa (hair knot), oṭha -oṭi (lip)  
 osar -sar (butter), joka -jak (leech)  
 /a/ i karaṭ -karṭi (bamboo shoot), khapuri -kipri (skin)  
 tagg -tiga (wire), kṇā -kṇi kal (weil)  
 /a/ -dhaou -dunu (bow), oyo -unu (other)  
 khonano -kun - (to dig), gam -gam (to rot)  
 e - -dangha -deṭ (handle), ram -ram (to tame)  
 ceta -cena (gram), besay - besu (nose ornament)  
 /a/ -apa -apo (elder sister), bandha -bād (pool)  
 prajhara -pejra (water spring), samkato -sakar (narrow)  
 /a/ -i nabaka -nak (village leader)  
 bahal -bal (cultivated land)  
 u. -pahanta patis (dawn), ghaghi -gauni (witch)  
 pahac -pau (wall-tuche), oṭa -oṭu (cave)  
 a. -anga - (hot) kan -gan (sour soup)  
 ghahā -gebra (confusion), matua -meta (crippled)  
 o. -gha -gto (sore), saanta -sātu (village leader)  
 jala -jaḥ (win)  
 e - -kantaḥ kaḥ (will), muchā -maci (flies)  
 smesna -māsta (graveyard)  
 /a/ /e -bera -ber (enmity)  
 /ou/ -/o/ -ousodha -osa (medicine)  
 /u/ -pout -puṭi (a measure)  
 /a/ -souko -kaca (owl), souca -coca (to rattle)

## MORPHOLOGY

## O. Introduction

## 0.0 Morphemes in Desia are of two types- (a) Free and (b) Bound

Free-morphemes are free-forms which can occur independently whereas the bound-morphemes occur as part of the free-forms. The free-morphemes and the combination of bound-morphemes or free and bound morphemes constitute minimum free morphological units which may be called stems. The bound morphemes which participate in the construction of new stems are called *derivational-affixes*. In larger morphological constructions, these stems occur in grammatical relationship with each other by means of inflection. The bound-morphemes which constitute the inflection are called *inflectional affixes*.

Morphological constructions in Desia mainly involve the combination of the stems and affixes through different grammatical processes. The stems form the core of a morphological unit and the affixes occur as its layers of construction. The derivational affixes form the inner layer and the inflectional affixes form the outer layer. These affixes are mostly suffix-type, prefix-types are few and rare.

Sometimes it becomes difficult to identify the combining forms of a morphological unit due to i.e. *morphophonemic changes* that take place within the forms and/or across their boundaries. In such cases morphophonemic rules, which are framed on the evidence of recurrence are applied for proper identification of the combining elements. In Desia the morphophonemic changes are conditioned both phonologically and morphologically. There are various peculiar morphophonemic rules which operate in its morphological constructions.

## 0.1 Stems—

Stems are differentiated into three form-classes, such as, (a) Substantives (b) Verbs and (c) Particles, on the basis of morphologic criteria as well as criteria of syntactic combinations.

The substantives and the verbs are inflected and can occur as the subject or the predicate but the *particles* are indeclinables and perform certain definite functions according to their position in the sentence. These particles may occur as post-positions indicating cases, as connectives between morphological units and as adverbs. Some of these are only inflected for cases other than the nominative and the accusative cases.

The morphologic criteria which differentiate between the substantives and the verbs are that those stems take suffixes marking person, number, aspects, tense, mood etc. are *verbs* and those take suffixes showing gender, number and case distinctions are *substantives*.

The substantives are again divided into three sub-classes as (a) Nouns (b) Pronouns and (c) Adjectives. Their difference is mainly functional. Those stems name persons, objects, concepts, etc. are the *nouns*, those describe, qualify and identify the nouns are *adjectives* and those are used as substitutes for the nouns are *pronouns*.

Although each stem primarily belongs to a particular form-class and carry a definite meaning, it can be transformed to another form-class or can take a different meaning in the same form-class through the morphological process of derivation and compounding or change of syntactic position. Leaving aside the syntactic aspect for discussion under Syntax, we find from the morphological point of view the stems are of three-types—(a) Simple, (b) Derivative and (c) Compound.

### 011 Simple Stems—

These are made of single morphemes. Examples of such stems are /ka, 'eat', kar 'do', mac 'fish', kəla 'fox', se 'he', aji 'today', pəc/back', ar/and'.

### 012 Derivative Stems—

These stems contain at least two elements of which one is the stem or base morpheme and the other is the derivational affix.

There are two types of derivative stems—(i) Primary Derivatives—in which the derivative affix combines with a derivationally bound-form or the base. e.g. kui+la 'rotten', cel+ka 'slices of scrappings', m+cat 'have-not', u+kar/ 'to exhale', u+u 'whistle' put+la 'idol', put+ra 'nephew', lir ki 'anus', ir+ca 'bird's intestine', ir+lra 'rude', aia 'cover of book', alu/ 'loft under the roof'

(ii) Secondary Derivatives—in which the derivative affix combine with a free-stem

e.g. al+tya 'plough man', mu+an 'front', ka+ura 'gluttonous'  
ni+set, 'tired', gor+na/ 'mill-stone', am+is 'sour'

### 013. Compound Stems—

These stems are made of two bases or two stems. When two bases combine the compound stem is called primary or basic compound and when two stems combine these are called secondary or stem compounds. The onomatopoeic stems are the best examples of primary compounds. In the secondary type of compounds the resultant stem normally means to a third object which is somehow or other related to the combining elements.

The following types of compound-stems are found in Desin.

#### [1]. Noun+Noun

alu-pan	'ladder'	(alu-loft, paN-staff)
al-ras	'marrow'	(ar-bone, ras-juice)
ga-gor	'body'	(ga-body, gor-leg)
or-ga-pol	'Adam's apple'	(ada-myribolan fruit, pol-fruit)
sək-or-ga	'mump'	(sək-gullet, or-ga-myribolan fruit)
baI-mənu	'bead'	(baI-hair, mənə-jewell)
sura-baI	'pen'	(sura-ink, baI-stick)
ram-pol	'custard apple'	(ram-Ramchandra, pol-fruit)
ga-cuna	'flour'	(ga-wheat, cuna-powder)
bek-muna	'bag'	(bek-bag, muna-wallet)

## (2) Noun + Verb

et-pora	'Holi festival'	(et-Holka, por-to burn)
aka mēra	'unbalanced load'	(aka-load in one side, mē-to die)
bati mārā	'fire-fly'	(bati-torch, mār-to strike)
carī-be:ti	'surrounding'	(carī-four, be-to surround)

## (3) Verb + Noun

derna—ḍaṇ	'ladder'	(ḍer-to lean, ḍaṇ-staff)
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## (4) Verb + Verb

alḡal	'to rock and roll'	(al-to shake, ḡl-to swing)
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## (5) Tag-Words

(For examples refer to the Lexical List, Appendix-II)

## (6) Onomatopoeic Words

Nouns —	gunḡul	'mosquito'
	ḡunḡunḡa	'musical instrument'
	ṭola	'hammerer'
	tutari-ḍaṇ	'ploughman's prod'
	ḡḡibeṭa	'dragon-fly'
Verbs—	kulḡul—	'to gargle'
	kṛkṛ—	'to scream'
	ḡḡḡ—	'to fumble'
	ḡḡḡ—	'to grumble'
	ḡuḡuḡ—	'to oo'
	cācām—	'to rinse'
	ḡḡḡḡ—	'to flicker'
Adjectives—	cūcūra	'cleansed to the last bit'
	tṛlṛa	'rude'
	ḡḡḡa	'palable'
	ḡḡḡa	'soft and spongy'

(7) We may note here the following stems in which the combining stems have completely assimilated with each other leaving some vestige of their presence

cakṇi	'leaf-cup'	(catus + kṇi)
cāmḡa	'covered pavilion'	(cāhaya + mēḡḡḡa)
ḡḡḡa	'jute'	(ḡḡḡ + ṭaṭa)
ḡḡḡa	'soots'	(ḡḡḡ + ḡḡḡḡ)
ḡḡar	'jealousy'	(ḡḡḡ — kṛa)
ḡḡar	'to low'	(ḡḡḡ — ṭaṭa)
ḡḡar	'threshing floor'	(kṛṭa + ḡḡḡ)

kirā	'cheese'	(kshīra + mako)
gəbəsai	'to abort'	(gerbho + srave)
duar	'to carry'	(dvi + bhar)
ḍunai	'to fold'	(dvi + gūṇa)
ḍuste	'to churn'	(dvi + sṛṣṭe)
pacā	'loin cloth'	(pāśa + pāṭa)
baluṣa	'temporary awning'	(baṣa + kuṣa)

## 0.2 Affixes

### 0.2.1 Inflectional Affixes—

These affixes are added to the stems for indicating various grammatical categories such as gender, number, case, tense, mood, aspect etc and syntactical linkage.

Detail discussion on various types of these affixes shall be made in the context of form-classes with which they have prevalence of occurrence.

### 0.2.2 Derivational Affixes

These affixes are added to create new forms from the base morphemes and the stems.

The following types of derivational affixes are found in Odia. It may be noted here that almost all of these affixes are directly descended from the O.I.A. and M. I. A. sources and are also in use in the standard Oriya dialect.

### 0.2.1 Prefixes—

/a. Negative affix	obujā	'disobedient'
	śamṣ	'unfriendly'
	śaṇka	'uncaring' (naked)
/a/ ..	asar	'unreal' (false, bad)
/ar/ Semi-negative	śṛṅśrīya	'semi-red' (semi-ripe)
/ni. Negative affix	niśai	'feeling of hopelessness'
	nikṣāṇḍi	'unearning'
	niṣṛbi	'have-not'
/ba/ Intensive affix	bujar	'to be scared'
su. Affirmative affix	susar	'well-behaved man'
	śujan	'good person'

In a good number of forms the prefixes have been so assimilated with the stems, they no longer appear as separate elements. As for example a list of some such words is given below.

ebka	'unmixed'	—ebikris
al j	'to choke'	—aperudhyote
elga	'separate'	—elagno
aria	'dummy'	—alutite
alo:	'to twist, turn'	—aloteyoti
ocul	'to lay bed'	—upachhadeyeti
pajra	'spring'	—prejbes
paper—	'to exercise'	—prepirene
biosl	'slippery'	—bioclosedi
begar	'to spoil'	—bighetlis

#### 0.2.2.2. Suffixes—

The following suffixes are more common in Desia. These are added to both the verb-stems and the substantives. In certain cases stem alternation occurs before this kind of suffixes. These changes are morphologically conditioned.

#### /a/Forms nouns from verb-stems.

mar	'to die'	mare	'dying condition'
cip	'to tighten'	cipe	'wedge, chip for tightening'

#### /ek/Pleonastic suffix. Forms nouns and verbs with connected sense

mar	'to die'	marek	'pestilence'
ben	'colour'	benek	'red colour'
mei—	'cracking sound'	mek	'to crack'
gem		gemek	'sweet smell'
bisa	'little'	bisek	'small boil'
tel	'to shove'	telek	'to topple down'
ut	'to overflow'	utek	'to jump'
ut	'to get up'	utek	'to uproot'
ud	'to come up'	udek	'to spring upward'

/ən/ Pleonastic and adjectival suffix.

—dɔgən	'to stride over'	dɔgən	'walking with long strides'
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/ə/ Forms adjectives from nouns.

mən	'mango'	amət	'sour'
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/ət/ Forms adjectives from verbstems.

wɔp	'to warm up'	wɔpət	'warm'
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ən Forms abstract verbal nouns, often indicates connected concrete objects.

gɔt	'to make'	gɔtən	'ships'
(dɔ)	'to burn'	dɔən	'burning'
dɪt	'tooth'	dɪtən	'tooth-brush'
(ʌtɪrə)	'motionless'	tɪrən	'calm'
lɔg	'to come close'	lɔgən	'sharpness'
pɔt	'to bewitch'	pɔtən	'sorcery'

-ana Compound affix (ən + a -definitive) Forms nouns from vts. denoting concrete objects and adjectives indicative of function.

The initial a drops when the affix occurs after consonants and changes to another vowel when it occurs after vowels of different qualities.

kɔt	'to pound'	kɔtən	'pestle'
gɔr	'to pulverise'	gɔrən	'mill-stone'
mɪs	'to whet'	mɪsən	'hone'
ʃi	'to live'	ʃɪnən	'livelihood'
sukɔt	'to dry'	sukən	'things for drying'
oɔt	'to lay bed'	oɔtən	'bed'

-ən —Compound affix (ən + i —pleonastic) Forms nouns and adjectives, often indicating diminutive and pretty aspects.

The initial ə drops after consonants and changes to another vowel after vowels.

kɪl	'to shut'	kɪlən	'door-bolt'
kɔt	'to pound'	kɔtən	'pounding hole'
gɔd	'to pierce'	gɔdən	'vacation ston'

ka	'to eat'	kaoni	'subsistence'
pi	'to drink'	Poni	'thing for drinking'
ji	'to live'	jeni	'living'
si	'to sew'	šoni	'texture'
bo	'to carry'	beun	'pad for carrying on head'
kama:	'to earn wage'	kamani	'earnings'
kupa:	'to pile up'	kupani	'act of piling'

/ap. —Pleonastic affix. Forms vsis from roots with slight modification of the sense.

uŋ	'to scold'	uŋap	'to threaten'
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/a: —Forms vsis from substantives and verb-roots.

a:	'hand'	a:ai	'to touch'
ag	'first'	agol	'to come in front'
bo:	'to sit'	bo:ai	'to collapse'
cab	'to bite'	cabai	'to chew, gnaw'
gad	'to sit'	gadai	'to dissolve in water'
ud	'to rise up'	udai	'to leap over'

/as. Pleonastic affix. Forms vsis from roots with slight modification in sense—

ug	'to rise up'	ugas	'to sprout'
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/a —Forms nouns denoting concrete objects, verbal nouns and adjectives.

cin	'to know'	cina	'mark'
qab	'to cover'	qaba	'canister'
at	'hand'	ata	'ladle'
ci:ko	'oil'	ci:kna	'smooth'
mo:ri	'pipe instrument'	mo:ira	'piper'
ei	'to touch'	eda	'impore'
sema:	'Monday'	samca	'born-on Monday'
ci:	'to cleave'	cim	'wall of cliff'
tu:	'to break'	tu:ca	'pollard'



/aɪ/ Forms adjectives from verbal and nominal bases.

bag	'tiger'	bagai	'tiger-infested'
kita	'worm'	kital	'worm-infected'
isa	'envy'	isai	'envious'
rog	'disease'	rogai	'sick'
mɪt	'friend'	mɪtai	'friendly'
at	'bone'	atol	'bony, juiceless'
mɔt	'to die'	mortal	'withered'

/ai/—Forms nouns indicating location

mɪ	'face'	mɔaɪ	
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/at/ Forms nouns indicating location.

car	'to graze'	carat	Frontyard 'grazing ground'
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/an/ Forms nouns and adjectives.

mɪ	'face'	mɪan	'front'
bis	'poison'	bisan	'poisonous'
uɪ	'to rise'	ujan	'boil'
mei	'to unfasten'	melan	'openness'
ru	'to mix'	musan	'addition'
puɪ	'to crack'	pujan	'hole, 'cavage'
ud	'to rise'	udian	'east'

/aɪ/—Forms adjectives and nouns indicating connexion, trade, or profession.

kulɪ	'wages paid in cash'	'kular'	'hired servant'
bulɪ	'wages paid in kind'	butar	'hired servant'
pɪlɪ	'child'	Pɪlɪnɪ	'woman with new-born baby'

a'—Adjectival and pleonastic suffix. Forms Vats. from nominal bases

uɪ	'to fly'	uɪal	'to blow in wind'
aɪ	'high land'	aɪal	'riverside land'
pɔn	'to fraud'	pɔngal	'deceitful'
tip	'to drip/drop'	tipal	'to sprinkle with finger'
isa	'envy'	isai	'to envy'
paɪ	'work'	paɪal	'work r'

/i/ -Peonastic and diminutive affix. Forms nouns of agent and adjectives.

sai	'truth'	setai	'true'
bai	'goodness'	betai	'good'
kai	'tenderness'	ketai	'tender'
mai	'joke'	metai	wife's younger sister
ram	'Rasachandra'	rami	'black-headed Muna' (It learns to speak)
tas	'to cultivate'	tasi	'farmer'
cal	'hide'	cali	'bark'
katar	'to cut'	katru	'scissors'
dokan	'shop'	dokani	'shop-keeper'
baer	'outside'	baeri	'external'
/it/ -Adjectival affix			
bac	'to sort out'	bacit	'outcast'

/iya/. Forms adjectives and agentive nouns

elai	'slow'	elaiya	'lazy'
lai	'to laugh'	laiya	'funny'
bat	'rice'	batiya	'wage, victuals'
keret	'saw'	keriya	'saw-mau'
keber	'message'	kebriya	'messenger'
udol	'to cross over'	udriya	'elopement'
sai	'spear'	saiya	'sharp-pointed'

/u/. Forms agentive nouns and adjectives indicating nature and potency.

utrai	'to induce'	utrau	'persuasive'
gon	'to buy'	gonu	'buyer'
ke	'to say'	ken	'talkative'
kai	'to cut'	kaiu	'sharp'
paitu	'to return'	paitu	'returnable'
ber	'elder'	beru	'uncle'

It also renders a vague sense of contempt and prettiness.

cəŋɕə	cəŋɕu	'strong and stout'
ɕəp	ɕəpu	'mound'
həɕ	həɕu	'Head', 'chief'
jaɕ	jaɕu	'gang'
ɕagəɐ	ɕagru	'giant size'

/ua/—Adjectival affix. Forms agentive nouns.

əaɐ	'ash'	əaɐua	'ash-coloured'
poɐ	'to rear'	poɐua	'adopted'
təŋɕ	'mouth'	təŋɕua	'quarrelsome'
kəɐ	'play'	kəɐua	'player'
kəɐ	'wood'	kəɐua	'wooden sandal'
ɐɐ	'to pry'	ɐɐua	'spy'
bəɐ	'enmity'	bəɐua	'who bears enmity'

/ua/ Compound affix [ua + al—pleonastic] Forms adjectives and nouns indicating nature and profession.

ɕaŋɕ	'outside of home-yard'	ɕaŋɕuaɐ-ɕəɐ	'house with side roof'
məɐ	'liquor'	məɐuaɐ	'drunkard'
jaɐ	'to watch'	jaɐuaɐ	'guard'
ɕəɐ	'landing place'	ɕəɐuaɐ	'boat-man'
məɐ	'to defy'	məɐuaɐ	'disobedient'

/uk/—Forms adjectives indicating characteristics.

oet	'to realize'	oetuk	'alert'
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/e/—Intensive affix.

kub	kube	'much'
bəɐ	bəɐe	'big'

/ka-ki/—Pleonastic and diminutive affix. Forms abstract and concrete nouns.

cim	'to pinch'	cimka	'pinching'
pil	'offshoot'	pūka	'young shoots'
tel	'to push'	telka	'jolt'
ci t	'to break apart'	ci tka	'spurtlings, spark'
buti	'dwarfish'	butka	'dwarf'
pul	'to swell'	pulka	'corpulent'
ber	'animosity'	berka	'animical'
cel	'to scrape off'	celka	'sliced scrapings'

/kar, kari, kariya/—Compound affix (ker + i/ya—agentive) Forms agentive nouns

lot	'to copulate'	lotkar	'seducer'
*poj	'to inveigle'	pojkar	'wicked'
*mu	'good'	smukar	'money-lender, superior'
jit	'to win'	jitkari	'winner'
tapl	'trowel'	tapikariya	'mason'
erot	'meaning'	erot kariya	'interpreter'

/kufiya/—Compound affix (kar + i/ya) Forms nouns indicating nature and activity

got	'song'	got kufiya	'singer'
tama	'copper'	tama kufiya	'pale and vigourless'

/kulya/—Compound affix (kar + i/ya) Forms nouns indicating nature

ḡer	'fear'	ḡer-kulya	'coward'
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/ga/—Pleonastic and adjectival affix

mard	'male'	mardga	'manly, brave'
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/ta -i/—Definitive, diminutive and pleonastic affix

nak	'nose'	nakti	'which has prominent nose'.
bak	'curve'	bāki	'crooked'
ek	'one'	ekta	'single'
gula	'round'	gūli	'circular-fence'
cim	'to pinch'	cimta	'pinchers'
beN	'frog'	beNti	'toad'

/tiya/ -Compound affix (ti + iya) Forms adjectives

cor	'thief'	coriya	'of thief's nature'
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/pa-ta-ti/ -Pleonastic affix. Forms nouns and adjectives  
indicating location, nature and connection.

kubja	'hump'	kubra	'hunch back'
boba	'dumb'	bobra	'dumb'
dila	'tooth'	dalora	'gums'
dai	'two'	daura	'doubling'
tip	'to drip/drop'	tipra	'drop'
bap	'father'	bapra	'person drawing sympathy'
can	'skin'	canli	'skinny'
cata	'umbrella'	catorli	'rain-hat'
aga	'front'	agari	'forward'
dama	'money'	damari	'small coins'
ham	'speech'	hamli	'chirping'
suka	'to dry'	sukari	'dried things'
mar	'to die'	marli	'pestilence'

/ti/ -Forms abstract nouns and adjectives. (Present participial affix)

gō	'to count'	gōti	'account'
man	'to obey'	manli	'respect'
bas	'to sit'	basli	'settlement'
utar	'to alight'	utarti	'descending, sloping'
cag	'to climb'	cagti	'ascending, steep'
bet	'to surround'	can betti	'surrounding'
pal	'fruit'	palli	'with fruits'

/tiya -Compound affix (ti + iya) Forms nouns indicating profession

maN	'to beg'	maNtiya	'beggar'
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## /tu/—Forms nouns indicating position

ag.	'front'	agtu	'first, pioneer, earlier.'
per	'unrelated'	peretu	'belonging to others'.

## /na/—Pleonastic and definitive affix

kas	'plough share'	kasna	'plough-share'
oor	'thief'	oorna	'thief'
tik	'right'	tikna	'right'
gat	'pot' (ghat)	gatna	'pot with food-stuff'
tek	'cheat'	tekna	'fraud'
bas	'odour'	basna	'fragrance'
sei	'friend'	seina	'friend'
bicar	'consideration'	bicarna	'consideration'

## /m/—Pleonastic and definitive affix

anti	antpi	'intestine'
kata	katana	'story'
gota (gosta)	gotani	'assemblage of cow'
dap	dapan	'incense'
ud—	udel	udani bat 'east'
bes—	besel	besani bat 'west'
bata 'bamboo'	bauna	'bamboo-born'
dengee	'forest'	dengarani 'a kind of wild bean'

## /niya/—Compound affix (en+niya)

kamai	'to earn wage'	korniya	'labourer'
bajai	'to play drum'	bajniya	'drummer'
jul	'to swing'	julniya	'swinging'
ur	'to fly'	urniya	'flying'
pan	'to exercise'	panniya	'exerciser'

*/pa/*—Pleonastic and definitive affix

—cel	'skin'	cupa	'wood scrapings'
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*/ra-ara/*—Forma abstract and agnitive nouns

o:ɪ	'to lick'	caɪra	'who licks'
oab	'to bite'	caɪra	'bitter'
oam	'hide'	caɪra	'robber'
mauŋɔ	'head'	mauŋɔra	'bald headed'
ɔak	'call'	ɔakra	'summon'
ka	'to eat'	kaara	'gluttonous'
gun	'to doze'	gunara	'who dozes'
kop	'anger'	kopara	'angry'
pɪɾ	'to press out wind'	paɪra	'farting'
pa.	'to swell'	paɪra	'swollen'

*ri-ri/*—Compound affix (ra+i)

gōd	'fetid'	gōdri	'ugly woman'
kād	'to cry'	kādri	'who cries'
rād	'to cook'	rādri	'cook'
paia	'belly'	paia	'pregnant'
ɔis	'to be visible'	ɔisari	'who foresees'
paɪ	'to worship'	paɪari	'priest'
ɔub	'to drive'	ɔubri	'a small metalcup'
moja	'middle'	mojari	'of the middle'
kas	'plough tag'	kasari	'cultivable'

*/riya/*—Compound affix (ra+iya)

ɔeba	'left'	ɔebnɪa	'left hander'
------	--------	--------	---------------

*/ru/*—Compound affix (ra+u)

ka	'to eat'	kaaru	'gluttonous'
mauŋia	'millet'	mauŋru	'delicacy made of millet.'

**/iə/—Pleonastic and definitive (Past participial affix)**  
Forms adjectives.

li	'brick'	liḥa	'mad' of bricks (oven)
muti	'flat'	mutia	'hammer'
ek	'one'	ekḥa	'alone'
(o)ḡos	'bare'	noḥḡia	'naked'
ut	'to overflow'	utḥa	'excited'
pāb	'to ripe'	pāḥa	'ripe'
bāc	'to live'	bāḥa	'living'

**/i/—Pleonastic, diminutive and feminine affix**

ḥiḥa	'little'	arḥi	'sour'
kupā	'heap'	kupḥi	'hillock'
boḡ	'elder'	boḡḥi	'elder wife'
ḥiḥa	'younger'	ḥiḥḥi	'younger wife'
ait	'cold'	aitḥi	'cool'
caḥ	'to taste'	caḥḥi	'who tastes'
ḥac	'to sort out'	ḥacḥi	'discarded'
pāḥ	'leaf'	'pāḥḥi'	'of leaf colour' (leaf-like)
ḡāḥ		ḡāḥḥi	'nape of neck'
ḥaḥ	'milk'	ḥaḥḥi	'milking'

**/iḡa/—Compound affix (iə + ḡa—agentive)**

bḥi	'hungry'	bukḡiya	'hungry'
ḡup	'to be tangled'	ḡupḡiya	'clumsy in speech'
lei	'to bend'	liḡiya	'pliable'
ud—uḡel	'to leap'	uḡiya	'elopement'

**/ḡa/—Compound affix (iə + u—agentive)**

muti	'peace'	'mutaḡu	'peace-loving'
bāḥ	'door-frame'	bāḡu	'ligature'

**/a/—Pleonastic affix. Forms nouns denoting connected object.**

munḡ	'head'	munḡa	'pillow'
		munḡaḥ	'body-deep'



0-2-2-3. The above mentioned derivative suffixes may be summarised in the form of the following chart with five successive positions of the internal constituents—

	I	II	III	IV	V
	a	i	k	a	a (ya)
	a	a	g	i	
I	i	o	u	u	
	u		i		
	a		q/i		
kar			i		
kuŋ			ŋ		
kul			p		
			t		
			j		
			s		

The fillers in position I only occurs single. Fillers of other positions occur in combination in the following manner—

Fillers—I + II ai, ia, ua.

I + II + III — iaa, uai.

I + III ak, aN, at, an, ap, ai, as;  
ag, at, an, ar, al;  
at,  
uk

I + III + IV — una, uni, ati, eti, eli, uta, era, eri, uru, o'a, oua.

III + IV ka, ki, ga, ja, i, ti, tu, na, ni, pa, la, li, lu, sa,  
da, ta, ti, m, ti, ru.

III + IV + V — jis, tis, nis, fia, lis.

/kar/ occurs single and in combination with /i/; /ia/; /ku/ and /kul/ occur with /a/.

Although the meanings of these suffixes are vague, still the following generalization can be made regarding their functions—

- /a/ Definitive.
- /i/ Definitive and Connective.
- /u/ Agentive.
- /i/ Diminutive and Definitive.
- /e/ Intensive.
- /ai/ Attributive.
- /iya/ Agentive and Attributive.
- /um/ Agentive.

The consonantal affixes are pleonastic.

## 1 SUBSTANTIVES

## 1.1. Noun

## 1.1.1 The Declension of Nouns

Desia nouns have three grammatical categories- gender, number and case. An analysis of noun words shows that the gender, number and case affixes optionally follow the stem one after another. The last element always controls the external distribution of the word.

## 1.1.1.1 Gender

Gender does not play an important role in the morphology of Desia, as it has no inflectional significance. It expects concord only with the adjectives. [e. g. /kəpə mənu:/ 'blind man' - /kəpə maji:/ 'blind woman']

Nouns, both animate and inanimate, are broadly divided into two categories of gender—masculine and feminine. There is no grammatical gender. Therefore, gender is normally determined by natural sex.

There are three ways of expressing the difference in gender.

- (i) By using separate words for the categories of gender e. g. /hap/ 'father' /ma-/ 'mother'.
- (ii) By employing descriptive words like /ənḍra/ 'male' and /mai/ 'female' before the noun words.  
e. g. /gəjə/ 'rooster' - /ma kaku:/ 'hen', /ənḍra/ as 'gander' /ma/ as 'goose', /ənḍra gə/ 'male tree (which does not bear fruit)' - /mai gə/ 'female tree'.
- (iii) By suffixing derivative affixes for the conversion of gender.

## A Feminine suffixes

/t/	e.g. /ḍekra/ 'oldman'	/ḍokri/ 'oldwoman'
	/bəra/ 'deaf'	/bəiri/
	/vəŋga/ 'tall'	/ḍəŋgi/
/ni/	/kamar/ 'blacksmith/kumarm'	
	/ḍobə/ 'washerman'	/ḍobəni/
	/mal/ 'gardner'	/malni/

## B Masculine suffix-

/la/ Stem alternation occurs before this kind of suffixation

/bḍə/ 'barren' /bḍjola/ 'impotent'

/ḍar/ 'prostitute-daroh/ 'lusty person /ḍarḍi/ 'widow' /ḍarḍola/ 'widower'

## Notes—

(a) Desai agrees with Oriya in all the aspects of gender discussed above excepting on the following points—

(i) The feminine suffix *n* has 4 allomorphic variations in Oriya such as *ani*, *ni*, *ni*, *ni* etc. morphophonetic changes occur by the addition of this suffix

- e.g. *cora* + *n* = *corani* (thief, fem.)  
*doba* + *n* = *dobani* (washerman fem.)  
*cora* + *n* = *corani* (farmer, fem.)  
*burka* + *n* = *burkani* (barber, fem.)  
*pana* + *n* = *panani* (Pana, fem.)  
*mal* + *n* = *malani* (gardener, fem.)

(ii) The masculine suffix *la* is not found in Oriya

(b) The sources of the suffixes are as follows—

1. O. I. A. + *ika*  
 2. O. I. A. + *ma*  
 3. O. I. A. + *pala* (master, keeper, protector)

## 1.2 Number

The common plural marker is *man*. Plurality is expressed by the simple suffixation of the marker to the basic singular forms. (e.g. *mai*/'woman'/*man* men/'women')

The alternative processes are the use of (i) Plural Specifiers or (ii) the numerical or collective adjectives, words, which are placed either after or before the noun words.

A list of common plural Specifiers is given below

*sab*/'all', occurs both before and after the noun

- am sab*/'all the mangoes'  
*sab am*/'all the mangoes'

*man* 'many' occurs both before and after the noun

- man* *lok*/'many people'  
*lok man*/'many people'

*sapa* 'clear to the last': occurs only before nouns

- sapa lok*/'all people'

'but 'many, much', occurs only before nouns.

'bui-butek lok 'many people'

adik 'more' occurs before nouns. adik am 'more mangoes'

onek 'many' occurs before nouns. onek am 'many mangoes'

'gula' 'all' occurs before nouns. gula lok 'all men'

'kamar' 'indefinite quantity' Occurs before nouns.

'kamar lok 'so many people'

'jaka 'whole', occurs after nouns. lok jaka 'all people'

lok 'peoples', occurs after nouns. se lok 'they'

Plurality is expressed also by repetition.

'glo glo 'many villages'

Duality is expressed by such words which mean a pair. These are placed before the nouns.

joiek ( yugam) joiek am 'two mangoes'

'alek ( yugale) julek parua 'a pair of regions'

'olek ( hola) olek pandat 'a pair of shoes'.

Singularity is sometimes indicated by the addition of the numerical word ek 'one' (e.g. tander one gulp, dalek one basketful) or the determiner 'is, to the noun words (e.g. amba that mango, lokia that man, pulia that flower)

#### Notes—

Desia plural marker man corresponds with Oriya 'mane and Chatagari man. Its source word is possibly (manava) or (manasya).

Among the Desia plural specifiers only tapa, gula, julek are not used in Oriya.

#### 113. Case

The cases are expressed in Desia by the addition of the following suffixes and post-positions. These are same for both singular and plural forms.

Case	Affixes	Post-positions
Nom.	—0	
Acc.	—ka	
Instr.		song-e, at-e
Dist.		kaje, lagi
Abl.	—ani	tan-u, tape-uni, tes-uni
Gen.	—e	
	or (after stems ending in consonants)	
	—0	
Loc.	—e	tan-e, lag-e
	—i (after stems ending in —a.)	
	—0 (after stems ending in —i.)	

The case-suffixes for Acc., Gen. and Loc. are added to the absolute forms (e.g. *gāo v-lage* Acc. *gāoke*, Gen. *gāor*, Loc. *gāoe*, 'itas in the waist') and the suffixes for Abl. are added to a sort of oblique form in Loc. case (e.g. *gāe tree*—*gāe-un* from the tree, 'ei there'—*tes-un* from there, 'tan place'—*tane-un* from that place).

Another Abl. suffix —*je* is used optionally in the areas bordering Bastar due to the influence of the Halbi and Bhatri dialects of that region.

The post-positions are added to the genitival forms which serve as the oblique base.

- e.g.—*sage* 'tanga-sage' with the axe.  
*ate* Murlir *ate* 'by Murlir.  
 —*kaje*, *laga* 'murlir kaje' for Murlir.  
 —*lanu* murlir *lanu* 'from Murlir.  
*loge* murlir *loge* 'at Murlir.

The post-positions are derived from the basic free-forms with the addition of the Loc. case-affix

<i>sage</i> 'with the help	<i>sage</i> association
'ate 'by personal power	/at/ 'hata 'hand
<i>kaje</i> 'for the use	/kaj/ 'karyo 'need
<i>laga</i> to bring into contact	<i>logno</i> attachment
<i>tane</i> 'at the place	/tan/ 'thana 'place
<i>loge</i> near	<i>log</i> <i>logno</i> attachment

#### *Notes—*

Some of the Desia case affixes and post positions are found in Oriya, either identically or with slight difference. Corresponding to the Desia case suffixes Acc. *ke*, Gen. *r*, Loc. —*e* Oriya has *ku*, *ro*, *e* respectively. Desia Abl. case suffix *-un* is unknown to Oriya. It has the affix *-u*. The Abl. affix *-u* of the Midnapur dialect of West Bengal corresponds to the Desia affix. (Ref. Calcutta University Bangla Sahitya Patrika Vol. 1, 1967-68 'S.W. Bengal')

Oriya post-positions Instr. *dei*, Dat. *lagi*, Abl. *tharu*-*thā*, Loc. *thare*, *pakhe* are comparable to Desia *ate*, *laga*, *lanu*, *tane*, *loge* respectively.

## 1.2. Pronouns

2.1 Desia pronouns belong to two classes—(i) Personal (ii) Non-personal

These may be further classified under the following groups—

### (i) Personal Pronouns—

A. 1st. personal Singular —	<i>mui'</i> Plural — <i>ame</i>
B. 2nd. personal Singular	<i>tua</i> Plural <i>tame</i>
C. 3rd. personal Proximate	<i>le/</i>
Obviative	<i>lei/</i>
D. Interrogative and Indefinite	<i>/ka/</i>
E. Relative	<i>/jo/</i>

## (ii) Non-personal Pronouns—

## A. Demonstrative Pronouns

Far

Remote

/e/—/i/

/æ/

/æŋ/ (with length)

## B. Interrogative and Indefinite

Relating to object (on which)

Subject (what)

## C. Relative

/ɔŋ/

1.2.2 Pronouns of each of the above categories have two forms—one is the basic-form and the other is oblique-form. Some again have two oblique-forms one for case—inflection and the other for pronominal derivations.

The basic-forms are a closed class and occur as the subject in sentences.

The oblique-forms are open ended class to which case-affixes and other elements are added. These forms occur in the object position in sentences.

The internal structure of various pronominal forms are represented in the following chart—

		Base Morpheme	Basic Form	Oblique Form	
				For Case-Inflection	For Pronominal Derivation
1. 1st Pers. Sing.	..	m—	—ul	—o	—
1st Plu.	..	a-m—	—e	—	—
2. 2nd Pers. Sing.	..	t—	—ul	—o	—
2nd Plu.	..	—əŋ	—e	—	—
3. Proximate Demonstr.	..	e—i	—	— <sup>1</sup>	—
4. Obviate Demonstr.	.	a—	—e	ta <sup>1</sup>	te
5. Interrogative	..	k—	—e	— <sup>2</sup>	— <sup>2</sup>
6. Relative	—	j—	—e	— <sup>2</sup>	— <sup>2</sup>

## Notes—

1 Plural oblique base is obtained with the addition of nasalization or nasalization and the genitive affix occurs with an augment with e.g. askor of this man, taker of that man.

2 These forms are also used for the derivation of Interrogative and Relative non-personal pronouns relating to subject with the addition of i, e.g. 'kai what, jai what.

3 Non-personal pronouns are derived from the base with the addition of o, e.g. /kon/who, /ɔŋ/who.

The above analysis shows that there are altogether eight pronominal base-morphemes in Dema. But the two plural bases (1a.2a) can be treated as derivationals leaving the rest six as the actual bases. These are -m, /e-r, s, k, /

Base-forms and Oblique-forms are obtained from the base morphemes with the addition of two types of extension such as -u- or -e- in the case of base-forms, -o- or /s- in the case of oblique-forms, and only one base /s- has a suppletive allomorph- /s-1/

### 1.2.3 Inflection of Pronouns

(i) There is no inflection for the category of gender.

(ii) Number is indicated by the addition of plural-markers /mən, lək, s, g sənən, solək/ 'they'

This is optional for 1st and 2nd Person, e.g. -ame, tənə, as the category of number is overtly marked in these forms

The plural-marker is added to the base-forms, excepting in the case of Interrogative and Relative pronouns in which cases it is added to the oblique-forms. e.g. /konmən, jənmən

(iii) Case-suffixes and post-positions are same as for the nouns.

The suffixes are added to the oblique-forms and the post-positions to the genitive-forms

#### Suffixes and Post-positions—

Nom. /

Acc. -ke

Gen. -r

-ər (Occurs with plural-forms only) e.g. /amər/our

-kər (Occurs with 3rd pers. plural-forms only)  
e.g. /kər, /təkər/his.

Instr -ətə

Abl. -{ənu, -jəne uni

Loc. -{əne, -ləge

(iv) Non-persona. pronouns invariably take the determiner /s- with the base. This particle behaves like an anaphoric substitute (e.g. /kon pə-kə-/kon-ʃə-kə/ 'to which boy'

#### Sample Paradigms

/mə, 'I'

Nom.	mə	ame, aməmən
Acc.	mə-ke	am-ke, am- mən-ke
Gen.	mə-r	am-ər
Instr.	mə-r-ətə	am-ər-ətə, am- mən-ər-ətə
Abl.	mə-r- {ənu jəne-uni	am-ər- {ənu jəne-uni
Loc.	mə-r- {əne	am-ər- {əne

/ke/'who'

---

ke	kon—mon
ka—ke	kon—mon—ke
ka—r	kon—mon—ar
ka—r—ajr	kon—mon—ar—ajr
ka—r—(anu	kon—mon—ar—(anu
ka—r—(ane	kon—mon—ar—(ane

/kon/'which'

---

kon—ta	kon—mon—ta
—ke	—ke
—r	—r
—arja	
—(anu	
—e-i	
—loga	

*Notes—*

The following differences are remarkable between Desia and Oriya as regards pronouns.

1. The distinction between honorific and non-honorific use of pronouns, which is a characteristic feature in Oriya is entirely absent in Desia. In Oriya the plural forms are honorifically used as singular. Besides that it has a super honorific pronoun, *apaja*: 'Your Highness'.

2. In certain cases there are differences in the forms

e.g. Desia—	ke	Oriya—	kia	hai'
	kon		ka, x	kou
	jon		ja,	jou
	kai		kao,	kiao





### 1.3. Adjectives

Desia adjectives fall into two broad groups: (1) Descriptive adjectives and (2) Determinatives.

1.3.1 Descriptive adjectives maintain gender concord with the noun they qualify in most cases. Hence these stems are variables whereas the determinatives are invariables.

These adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively. When used attributively they are placed with the nouns they qualify (e.g. *tapat pani* 'warm water') and when used predicatively they occur in the predicate position either to refer to the subject (e.g. *e pani tapat* 'this water is warm') or to the object (e.g. *so pani tapot kala* 'he made the water warm').

Desia descriptive adjectives are mostly derivative forms which are obtained from nominal and verbal stems with various adjectival suffixes, such as /ana, ani, a, ai, an, al, i, iya, u, un, ka, ma, ra, li/ etc.

1.3.2 Adjectives, those that do not describe but point out or indicate individual persons, objects, concepts, etc. are called determinatives. These are not inflected for gender and occur with the nouns. They may be classified in the following way—

1. Pronominals (a) Possessive /mor/mrae, /ar /has, /tor /your

(b) Interrogative Indefinitive - /kon /which.

(c) Relative—/jon /that which—.

(d) Demonstrative—/e /this, /so /that.

2. Pronominal -Derivatives indicating

(a) Quantity - /ete /this much, /ete /that much.

(b) Size—/e /this big, /ete /that big.

(c) Manner - /mot /like this, /enta /like that.

3. Quantitatives

(a) Collectives - /sobu /all, /māca /a herd, /gula /whole, /sapa /entire, /nek /many, /but /much.

(b) Fractionals - /ek /half, /kandek /a portion, /garaddek /a shoe, /alap /little, /pau /a quarter

(c) Numericals - /ek, /du /ten /etc.

1.3.3 It is to be noted here that Desia has no ordinals. It has card nals up to twenty - *ca, cu, tu, er, pa, ca, sat, st, nā, cas, egar, bar, ter, cand, padar, sul, vatar, qar, was, kote*. Cardinals beyond twenty are not found in Desia. Further counting is done by adding one, two three, etc. to the scores up to one hundred, for which there is the word *say*. For example, 22-kote *du* (a score and two), 43-*du kor* *tin* (two scores and three), 160-*tin kor* *say* (three score and a hundred).

There is one unit marker 'gojek' to indicate definite singular. Other numerical definitives are obtained with the addition of the definitive particle /ta, such as — duja two only, 'pācā five only

The cardinals also indicate vague numbers in the following manner—  
atek, about a hand's length, duja very few, carja few, pācā, -i-dasja, many, du-carja -, pāc-dasja/some.

The cardinal ek invariably occurs after the nouns and is suffixed to the stem—e.g. βalek one basketful, betek one piece of two-anna corn, gār-βek one slice. The derivative suffix la occurs with ek in ekla alone.

The cardinals du and ta occurring before the nouns sometimes assimilate with the stem and in such cases the morphemic residues are respectively /du and t/ e.g. duata double ploughing, duna two-fold, -dusra /two-string, /tūpul/three-variety

Counting is sometimes done in the following two figurative manners.—

(i) akata dāta sātū māda'kuke kake dāya pīpā ekso raja  
[arba kua atar katu golke nace tufe tate unu bae. [Kilo  
Aita, Kanchana]

(ii) ek mek gawā bokta-ūpni lapra laer gunḍi/ata mama ur  
tate jād bād padē βel/karia kes/unis bis. (Ghasi Gudiya, Kanangi)

1.3.4 It may be noted here that besides the adjectives, forms belonging to various other parts of speech also function as adjectives. These may be better treated as Adjective Equivalents.

The following form-classes serve as adjectives.

(1) Noun—Nouns denoting materials and nouns in apposition serve to qualify or identify another noun.

e.g. -an-naggol iron-plough, -a-cul brick-oven, -dan-kājar, paddy threshing-floor, -kara-pakna hail-stone, -sā-bel evening time, -pul-gac flower tree, masāβa-be a millet-field, danda-dān danda, the priest.

Nouns in genitival form more commonly serve as adjectives, e.g. gacār-βal fruit of the own tree, atar-dā cash in own hand, murlir-gai murlī's cow

(2) Participles —

Present Part. cagā-bat ascending path, polu-gac tree with fruit.

Past Part. kula-am rotten mango, pota-mac roasted fish.

Future Part. udha-mas coming month, kaiba-bat rice to be eaten.

(3). Adverbs — pāc-kata past event, upar-dal top branch, 'kali-sakal tomorrow morning.

## 2. Verb

2.0. Desia Verb-forms fall into two categories —(1) Non-Finite forms and (2) Finite forms.

### 2.1. Non-finite Verb-forms

These are constituted of Vets—Inflectional affixes.

These forms participate in the construction of compound finite Verb-forms (Verbal phrases) and as conjunctives connect the clausal units of a complex sentence.

In Desia the following inflectional-affixes are used for the construction of non-finite verb-forms.

#### 1 / —i/Gerundial Perfect

e.g. te moke dekhi pocala/Ho, seeing me, asked

#### 2 —ne/Adverbial Durative. (Its distribution is limited to the vps. ending with /i/).

e.g. /se pahare aila/He came running.

#### 3 / —te/ Adverbial Durative

e.g. 'bel hore sobe/I shall sleep till the sun sets.  
take mara mara He beat him till he died

#### 4 -ite. Adverb of concomitant action

e.g. /se karite galani He is going while eating.

#### 5 / —je/ Conditional Conjunctive

e.g. 'tui dele nesi/If you give, I would take.

#### 6 / —o/ Nominal

e.g. 'mare koya galani/He is going in search of chilies.

#### 7 / —e/ Nominal. (Its distribution is limited to causative stems only).

e.g. take ei/ai karaia He made him to do weeding

#### 8 / —be/ Deutero-nominal.

e.g. 'eta karbe koeso It is difficult to do.

#### 9 —bar Infinitive, Verbal derivative genitival adjective.

e.g. /se karbar gala-ae/He has gone to plough.  
/karbar-ja. sangar-doa/Store the eatables.

## Notes—

(1) Probable Sources of these affixes are as follows —

- 1 /i/ O. I. A. —ya M. I. A. —ia.
2. /ae/ Nominal Affix —en + e —Locative
3. /ie/ /i/ O. I. A. active participle 'satr' affix .n —ent + e —Locative; Beams (Comp. Grammar Vol. III) derives /ie/ from Locative of Pkt which literally means — 'in the act of'
4. /te/ It is a case of morphophonemic doubling of the Durative affix /ie/. In Oriya and several other Indo-Aryan languages the adverb of concomitant action is constructed by the repetition of the present participial forms. In Deva that repetition of forms is replaced by the morphophonemic process of doubling the affix
5. /e/ Past —I + e —Locative
6. /a/ O. I. A. past participle in -te M. I. A. -a
7. /i/ O. I. A. causative affix -ay / pay + te — past participle.
8. /ba/ O. I. A. future passive participle in -toyo M. I. A. —ova.
9. /bar/ Nominal —ba + r —genitive.

(2) There are differences between Oriya and Deva with regard to the following affixes—

Deva—/ie/	Oriya—/u/
/ae/	/i/ in repetition of form
/te/	/u/ in repetition of form
/i/ Nominal	/a/
/bar	/baku

## 2.2 Finite Verb-forms

The structure of the finite verb -forms may be summarised as follows—

[Vst + (Aspect) (Aux.) + (Tense, Mood) + Person-Number]

This shows that a full verb-form may contain the following five elements—  
1. Stem, 2. Aspective affix, 3. Auxiliary Verb, 4. Tense or Mood indicator,  
5. Person and Number affix

According to the number of constituent elements verb forms may be divided into the following three structural classes—

- (i) Radical Simple-forms—[Vst + P-N]
  1. Customary
  2. Imperative

## (ii) Non-aspective Simple-forms—[Vst + Tense/Mood + P-N]

3. Simple Past
4. Simple Non-past
5. Simple Contingent

## (iii) Aspective Compound or Periphrastic-forms—

## A. [ (Vst + Aspect) + (Auxl + Tense Mood + P-N) ]

6. Past-Imperfective
7. Plu-Perfect
8. Absolute Imperfect Presumptive
9. Absolute Perfect Presumptive
10. Contingent Imperfect Presumptive
11. Contingent Perfect Presumptive

## B. [ (Vst + Tense + P-N) + (Auxl + P-N) ]

12. Present Progressive
13. Perfective

It appears from the above description that in Desia verb-stems have altogether 13 forms of conjugation under 3 structural patterns. Each one of these forms have again 6 separate sub-forms according to three-fold distinction of person and two-fold distinction of number. Hence, a verb-stem, in Desia can have as many as 78 forms.

An analysis of these forms shows that the Vsts. have five categories of inflection—1. aspect 2. tense 3. mood 4. person 5. number

*Note—*

The structure of the Oriya Finite Verb-forms is same as that of Desia. But Oriya has two extra forms—(i) Habitual Imperfect and (ii) Perfect which have structures like Aspective Periphrastic-forms (iii-B).

## 2.3. Categories of Inflection

## 2.3.1 Aspect

Aspect indicates duration. Absence of aspect merely reports activity, without indicating that it has or shall have duration.

There is a two-way contrast in aspect in between imperfect and perfect which are mutually exclusive. The *imperfect-aspect* indicates action continuous through a period of time and the *perfect-aspect* indicates completion of the action in a period of time.

Desia Aspective suffixes    -Imperfect -ic  
                                     Perfect -i/

*Note—*

1 Aspective verb-forms are compound forms in which the main Vst. occurs with the aspective mark and the combining auxiliary Vst. occurs with other categories of inflectional affixes.

2. Probable sources of these affixes are—

(i) O. I. A. and M. I. A. active participle in—ant—.

(ii) M. I. A.—is O. I. A.—ya.

3. Oriya Aspective suffixes are—Imperfect. -u', Perfect i

## 2'3'2. Tense

Tense indicates the time of occurrence of the activity. In Desia there are only two contrasting temporal categories—past and non-past, which are indicated by the following morphemes—

Past—/l,

Non-Past—/b/, Occurs with 1st pers. sing. and plu. and 3rd pers. plu.

—s. Occurs with 2nd pers. sing. and plu. and 3rd pers. plu.

Time-less (Customary) sense is indicated by non-past inflection. (e.g. se dinke bat kausi 'He shall eat rice daily also means 'He eats rice daily').

Temporal categories of the Present and the Future are indicated through syntactic constructions with non-past inflections. As for example the following constructions may be contrasted—

/se kahike kausi/ 'He will eat tomorrow

/se kausi ace/ 'He is eating

se kausa ace/ 'He has eaten.

*Note—*

1 Probable sources of these tense-indicators are—

1. O. I. A. past participle in to M. I. A. —(a+ill)—

'b. O. I. A. future passive participle (gerundive) in tavya M. I. A. —avya,

s. O. I. A. future affix in-sa (e. g. karsyumi)

2. Oriya has l for past, b for future but s is occasionally found only in Old-Oriya. For customary, Oriya has a vowel affix whose allomorphs occur with P-N suffixes as/e, u, a/.

## 233. Mood

Mood indicates the attitude of the subject towards the activity

In Desia only the Imperative and the Subjunctive moods are indicated by morphological constructions with distinctive inflectional affixes. The following morphemes indicate the moods—

Subjunctive—/i/

Imperative—//

Indicative and Presumptive moods are indicated by various conjugational form.

Notes—

1. Desia fully agrees with Oriya as regards moods excepting that Oriya has slightly different morpheme *Intia* subjunctive affix.

2. The source of the affix // is probably O.I.A. present participle in—ent

## 2345. Person and Number

There is three-way contrast between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person and two-way contrast between singular and plural number.

In Desia categories of P-N are jointly marked by the following sets of affixes.

	I	II	III	IIIa	IV
1st pers. sing.	i				
phu	u				
2nd pers. sing.	us	u	/	s	
phu	as	a	s	s	
3rd pers. sing.	a	l	o		e
phu	ai		ot		et
	ay				

Explanations:—

Set I affixes are common affixes

II occur with non-past forms

III occur with Imperative forms

IIIa occur with Imperative forms when the verb is allo-benefactive to a 3rd person.

IV occur with customary of auxiliary/aux and negative verbs



Note—

In contrast with Desia, Oriya has the following sets of P-N affixes

1st pers. sing.	/e/ occurs with customary and permissive forms /ele/ elsewhere
plu. (excl.)	/a/
(incl.)	/a:/ in future /e:/ in past and contingent /enti/ elsewhere
2nd pers. sing.	/= in Imperative /u/ elsewhere
Plu.	/e/
3rd pers. sing.	/e/ in customary /u/ imperative /a/ past and contingent /e/ future /i/ present
plu.	/e/ past, future and contingent /enti/ elsewhere

## 2.4 The Auxiliary verb

The auxiliary verbs combine with the main vts to denote some categories of inflection and mode. These verbs follow the thematic main vt. that occurs with only aspective marks, and take the conjugational affixes of tense, mood, person and number.

These are defective stems having limited categories of inflection

Desia has the following two auxiliary verbs

/ac/	Participates in the construction of the Present Progressive and the Perfective forms.
e.g. 1st pers. sing. /acu/	plu. /acu/
2nd pers. sing. /acua/	/acua/
3rd pers. sing. /aco/	/acot/

*ra* Participates in the construction of the aspective form of past tense and presumptive mood. Hence, it has no conjugation in aspective categories. Its conjugational forms are given in the following paradigm.

1. Negative Customary (I do not remain etc.)

1st.	/ne roj/	/ne roθ
2nd.	/no reus/	/no rusa
3rd.	/ne rey/	/ne roet/

Imperative (You remain etc.)

1st.	(reo)	(reθ.)
2nd.	/re/	/rus/
3rd.	/reo/	/ruet/

3. Simple Past (You remained etc.)

1st.	/reil/	/reila
2nd.	/reilus/	/reilas
3rd.	/reila/	/reilay

4. Simple Non-past (You shall remain etc.)

1st.	/resh/	/rebu
2nd.	/reus/	/reus
3rd.	/reus/	/reibay

5. Simple Contingent (If asked, I would remain etc.)

1st.	/reiti/	/reitu
2nd.	/reitus/	/reitās
3rd.	/reita/	/reitay

Notes—

1. In Nawarangpur dialect the forms are contracted as the medial vowel sequence /el/ → /e/ (e.g. /reil/ → /rell/).
2. In Oriya the auxiliary verb is 'tha' instead of 'ra'.
3. *ra* auxiliary is found in languages like Sindhi and Gujarati.

2.5. Inflection of Present Progressive and Perfective Forms.

The construction of these two forms need specific discussion as, unlike other Aspective—periphrastic verb—forms, these two cases show both the main vst. and the auxl vst. occurring in finite forms. The auxl verb which participate in the conjugation of these forms is *jac* and it occurs with P-N categories of inflection.

## 2.5.1. Present Progressive Construction

Present Progressives indicate activities that commenced before and still continuing. In these forms the main Vst. uniformly occurs for all persons and numbers in the 3rd person singular form with the non-past temporal affix /s/. That s is not an aspective affix is proved by the fact that in the Nawarangpur-dialect of Desia the non-past affix b-occurs in place of s in such verbal constructions. In the Nawarangpur-dialect the Pr Prog. forms are as follows—

1st. Pers /	Sing.	kaibce,	Plu/kaibuce,	(/ka/to:est)
2nd.		/kaibuce/	/kaibuce/	
3rd.		/kaibce/	/kaibce/	

A comparison of the two dialectal alternant forms shows that in both dialects the main Vst. occurs in the Simple non-past form and when in Nawarangpur-dialect the P-N affixes are added to the main Vst in the other dialect these are added to the auxl. Vst.

An alternative process of constructing these forms is by way of suffixing the verbal modifier -n, with the Simple-Past forms. As for example *kai* 'I did' *kai-n* 'I am doing' (This modifier may be compared with Oriya completive affix, *o*, and Western-Oriya *o*, e.g. *kala-o* 'He has done') Ref K. Mahapatra, Indian Linguistics-Vol. XXII—'Functions of-na in Oriya verbal System'

## 2.5.2. Perfective Construction

There are two types of constructions—

(i) [Vst + Past I + P-N] + (Auxl./ac' + P-N]

This shows that the main Vst. occurs in the Simple-Past form and the Auxl. Vst. occurs with P-N suffixes. Morphophonemic changes occur only in the case of 2nd personal or forms where the P-N suffix /us/ drops the *u* with the addition of the auxl. verb.

e.g. 2nd pers. sing. *kai-us + acus* → *kai-uscus* 'You have done plu.  
*kai-us + acus* → *kai-uscus*

(ii) [Vst + Perfective + i] + (Auxl./ac' + P-N], e.g. */kai aci* 'I have done.

### Notes—

1. The structure of Oriya Pr Prog. Form is [Vst + Imperfective-u + Auxl.-ach + P-N] e.g. */kar-u-ach-i/* 'I am doing.'
2. Oriya has the (ii) type of perfective construction, e.g. */karachi/i* 'I have done.'

## 2-6.— Sample Paradigm.

/ka/'to eat'

## 1. Negative Customary. (I do not eat etc.)

Singular	Plural
1st./no ka/	/no kan/
2nd./no kano/	/no kasa/
3rd./no koo/	/no koot/

## 2. Imperative (You eat etc.)

/koo/	/koo/
/ka/	/ka/
/koo/	/koo/

## 3. Simple-Past (I ate etc.)

/koo/	/koo/
/ka/	/ka/
/koo/	/koo/

## 4. Simple-Non-Past. (I eat/I shall eat etc.)

/ka/	/ka/
/koo/	/koo/
/koo/	/koo/

## 5. Simple Contingent (If offered, I would eat etc.)

/ka/	/ka/
/koo/	/koo/
/koo/	/koo/

## 6. Past-Imperfective (I was eating etc.)

/ka/	/ka/
/koo/	/koo/
/koo/	/koo/

## 7. Plu-Perfect (I had eaten etc.)

/ka/	/ka/
/koo/	/koo/

## 8. Absolute Imperfect Presumptive (I shall be eating)

/ka/	/ka/
/koo/	/koo/
/koo/	/koo/

## 9. Absolute Perfect Presumptive (I shall have eaten)

/ka: roibi/

/kai roibu/

10. Contingent Imperfect Presumptive (If offered, I would  
(be eating etc.)

/ka: roibi/

/kaite roitu/

/— roitu/

/— roitu/

/— roitu/

/— roitu/

11. Contingent Perfect Presumptive (If offered, I would  
(have eaten etc.)

/ka: roibi/

/kas roitu/

## 12. Present Progressive. (I am eating etc)

/kai aci/

/kai aci/

/— aci/

/— aci/

/— aci/

/— aci/

## 13. Perfective (I have eaten etc.)

/kai aci/

/kai aci/

/— aci/

/— aci/

/— aci/

/— aci/

## Q-7. Negative Transformation

There are two negative morphemes /na/and/nai/which are used to negate the verb-form, both finite and non-finite.

## 2-7-1. /na/occurs as prefix with—

(i) the Radical and Non-Aspective Simple-forms of the finite verbs (e.g./na ka Dont eat,/na ka.h/I did not eat).

(ii) the non-finite verbs (e.g. na kai having not eaten,/na kaite/if he does not eat).

and as prefix or infix with—

(iii) the Aspective Periphrastic-forms other than the Pr. Prog and the Perfective (e.g. na kari roibi/I was not doing).

As an infix it occurs between the main Vsl. and the Auxl. (e.g. /kari na roibi/I was not doing).

The following modifications occur in Non-Past forms with na-prefixation

(i) The Tense-indicator is deleted. (e.g./na kari /na kari/I shall not do,/na kari/-/na kari He shall not do).

- (ii) In 2nd and 3rd Personal forms the usual P-N affixes of the Non-past constructions are replaced by a separate set of affixes. In the case of 2nd Person the replacement is done with the P-N affixes for the past-forms, but in the case of 3rd Person a specific set of affixes are used.

e.g. 2nd, pers.	sing. na .karsa	na karsa, (cp. past/kəhus/)
	plu./na+karsa,	na karsa (cp. past/kəlas/)
3rd	sing. na karsa	na karsa.
	plu./na+kərbay/	/na kəret.

2.7.2./na/ occurs as a suffix more regularly with the following forms—  
Imperative (/kar nai/), Non-assertive Simple Past-form (/kəh nai/), Pr Prog. (/kari nai/) and Perfectives (/kari nai/).

In the negative transformation of the Pr Prog. and the Perfective forms the following features are notable.

- (1) The Auxl. ac is replaced by its negative counterpart nai.
- (2) The main Vst. drops out all its set affixes and takes a separate set of P-N affixes, similar to that of Simple Past-forms. As a result of that there occurs no contrast between the Pr Prog. and the Perfective negative forms. e.g. /karsa ac/ 'I am doing', and /kari-kəh ac/ 'I have done' /kari nai/ 'I am not doing', and /kari-kəh nai/ 'I have not done'.

#### —Notes—

In Oriya negative transformation is also done with /na/ and nai, or its variants nahi, nei, nū/affixation /na/ occurs as prefix or infix and nai occurs as a suffix. nai when occurs in the Pr Prog. and Perfective forms in place of the Auxl. ac/na/ is declinable as it takes P-N affixes. Elsewhere it is indeclinable.

e.g. /karunai/ 'I am not doing', /karunaa/ 'We are not doing', /karunaa/ 'We have not done', /kari nahiti/ 'They have not cp./kəhnai/ 'I did not do', /kəhu nai/ 'You did not do'.

(For details please refer to the paper 'Negative Conjugation in Oriya' by K. Mahapatra in Orissa Historical Research Society Journal, Vol. VII, No. 1).

#### 2.8. Causative Transformation

An ordinary verb-form forms a causative in two ways— (i) through the morphological process of affixing a causative morpheme to the base and/or (ii) through the syntactic process of compounding the causative form of the Vst. /kar/ (to do) to the nominal derivative form of the Vst.

e.g. rāda/to cook (i) rāda.la/'Caused to cook'  
(ii) /rāda kəraila/

There are two causative morphemes in Desu—/a/ and /i/ which are in complementary distribution.

## 2.8.1 /s/ occurs as a suffix.

Consequent upon this suffixation the following morphophonemic features occur in the verb-forms.

(s) In the Vsts. ending with consonants the causative suffix is extended with the isometric vowel /a/

e.g. mar to beat *maras* He will beat *marais* He will cause to beat

(t) In Vsts. of the CV Pattern the stem vowel changes in the following manner

(e), (o) u, e.g. ka to say /kasa/ said /kaasa/

/so/ to sleep /sosa/ slept /soaisa/

/e/ /i/ /de/ to give /dela/ gave /diailsa/

/a/ /u/ /ka/ to eat /kaia/ ate /kuaisa/

(it) In Vsts. of the (C) VCVC-pattern the V' is deleted

e.g. /olej/ to choke /olaisa/

/akar/ to dig /akraisa/.

2.8.2 /i/ occurs only with the stems of the pattern—(C) VCVV—as an infix in between the VV sequence. Such stems are normally denominatives, intransitives transformed into transitives and primary derivatives.

e.g. ma root *maia* to begin *ma-ha* to cause to start

/pac/ to ripe /pacai/ to ripen /pacias/ "to ripen.

/ga/ /gata/ to roll up /gataia/ "to roll up

2.8.5 It is to be noted here that causative constructions are not possible with some verbs like *a* to come, *o* to be, *ac* to be, *'me* to deny, and in the case of some verbs causative transformation is possible only by syntactic process.

## Note

- 1 In Oriya the causative morphemes are /a/ or its allomorph *ai*
- 2 The source of *a* is O I A.—*apa*, M I A.—*ava*.

## 2.9 Passive Transformation

An active verb-form is transformed to a passive form by the syntactic process of compounding a subsidiary verb with the nominal form of the active base. The transformation also necessitates change in syntactic order and concord, such as, the object of the active verb becomes the subject of the passive form and the subject of the active form becomes the agent of the passive form.

In Desia the Vsts *o* and *ja'* participate in such compounds as subsidiary verbs.

Passive verbs are used where the subject or the 'actor' is not specified

e.g. *se corke daria* 'He caught the thief

*/cor tar-ake daria-ota*—The thief was caught by him

*/cor gotek daria gala*—A thief was caught

## 2.10. The Verb-stem

The Vst forms the base of a verbal construction to which the conjugational affixes are added.

The base is easily identified from the 2nd Person Sing. Imperative forms, e. g. *ka/to do/ kar/ you do.*

The Vst may be a basic free-form or its derivatives which are obtained through various grammatical processes, such as affixation, internal change, suppletion and juxtaposition. Hence, there are three types of base in Deua—Simple base, Derivative base and Compound base.

### 2.10.1 Simple base

Verb-stems made of single morpheme (roots) taken as base are regarded as simple base.

These stems are of two types—transitive and intransitive. The intransitive form the neutral base and do not take object. They can form active base by being transformed into causative forms. The transitives form the active base and can take object.

The shape of these stems are either monosyllabic or disyllabic.

The shape of the monosyllabic stems are as follows.—

Phonemic shape	Evidence
1. V	There are only two stems /a/ 'to come, o—/to be
2. CV	There are 17 stems in all having following variations in V-position. V a/ 'a — kə 'tossy, /ə/ 'to bend, /ə/ 'to remain /a/ — /ka/ 'to eat, /ga/ 'to sing, /ja/ 'to go, /pa/ 'to get, /ba/ 'to wear long. /ā/ — /cā/ 'to touch, /jā/ 'to live, /sī/ 'to sew. /ē/ 'je/ 'to jump, /ē/ 'to give, /e/ 'to take. /o/ 'do/ 'to wash, /bo/ 'to carry, /so/ 'to sleep.
3. VC (C)	The—V—may be any vowel ot 'to wear, ind 'to walk
4. CVC (C)	The—V—may be any vowel. mət/ 'to die, manḍ 'trample.

The structure of the disyllabic stems are as follows:

1. (C)VCVC	V <sup>1</sup> any vowel, V <sup>2</sup> 'ə or 'e 'to be excess, /ukə/ 'to vomit
2. (C)VVC	Among 8 stems available 6 have /ə/, 2 have /a/ as V <sup>1</sup> . aṃ/ 'to decline, uar/ 'to reprimand, duar/ 'to carry

2.011 Stem alternations occur in these types of base in morphological constructions in the following manner:

(I) All monosyllabic stems ending in vowels, i.e. of [V] and [CV] patterns, are extended with the addition of the thematic vowel /ə/ when they take conjugational suffixes other than imperative affix—

*g/ka. 'kən/ He will say, g/ gash/ I sing, s/ 'ai/su/ You will sew*



However, the extension does not occur (a) in the stems *ja, de, ne* before the future tense affix *b* and (b) in the stems */e, ne/* in past tense inflection

e.g. (a) *ja* /*ja*/, I shall go, *ne* /*ne*/, we shall give, *ne/* , *nebay*/They shall take

(b) *do* /*do*/, I gave, *ne* , *nelus*/you took

(2) The following stems of (V) and (CV) patterns have allomorphic variations in the following manner.

*/a, a:-/* = *a, o:-/u/*

The change of stem-vowel occurs mostly in the 2nd Pers. Imp and Negative customary forms

Stem	Allomorph	Distribution	Evidences
<i>/a,</i>	<i>/aa/</i>	In Perf. forms	<i>/aa:-aa:/</i> I have come <i>/aa:-/raili/</i> I had come.
		In 2nd Pers. Plu. Imp. 3rd Sing. Plu.	<i>/aa/</i> You come. <i>/aa/</i> Let him come <i>/aaat/</i> Let them come
		In Negative forms	<i>/na:-aa/</i> I do not come noy He is not, <i>/naa/</i> We are not
<i>o,</i>	<i>a/</i>	In negative forms	<i>/naa/</i> You are not.
	<i>/u/</i>	In negative forms In 2nd, 3rd Pers. Plu. Imp. forms.	<i>/ua/</i> You be, <i>ua/</i> Let them be.
<i>/ka/</i>	<i>/ku/</i>	In 2nd Pers. Plu. Imp. and Neg. forms	<i>/kua/</i> You tell <i>/na kua/</i> You dont tell.
<i>/ka/</i>	<i>/ki/</i>	In verbal nouns.	<i>kia</i> , Eating
<i>ja,</i>	<i>ji</i>	In 1st Pers. Sing., Plu. 3rd Pers. Plu. future forms.	<i>ji</i> I shall go <i>ji</i> bu/We shall go <i>ji</i> bay/They shall go
		In verbal nouns	<i>ji</i> bar Going.
<i>/di/</i>	<i>/di/</i>	In 2nd 3rd Pers. Imp. and Neg. forms	<i>/di/</i> You all jump <i>/diat/</i> Let them jump <i>/na:-di/</i> He does not jump
<i>/de/</i>	<i>di</i>	In 2nd Pers. Plu. Imp. and Neg. forms	<i>/daa/</i> You give <i>/na:-daa/</i> Dont-give.
<i>/ne/</i>	<i>/na/</i>	Do.	<i>/naa/</i> You take <i>/na:-naa/</i> Dont-
<i>do</i>	<i>/da/</i>	Do.	<i>/daa/</i> You wash <i>/na:-daa/</i> Dont
<i>bo,</i>	<i>bu</i>	Do.	<i>/baa/</i> You carry <i>/na:-baa/</i> Dont
<i>/so,</i>	<i>/su/</i>	Do.	<i>/saa/</i> You sleep <i>/na:-saa/</i> Dont-
<i>/la/</i>	<i>/la/</i>	Do.	<i>/laa/</i> You bend <i>/na:-laa/</i> Dont-
<i>ra,</i>	<i>/ra/</i>	Do.	<i>/raa/</i> You stay <i>/na:-raa/</i> Dont stay

3. The stem /a/ has suppletion in Simple Past-forms as /ga/, e.g. /ga/ I went, /galu/ You went.

4. The stems /kə/ and /mə/ drop the final r in Simple Past-forms e.g. /kə/ I did, /mə/ I died.

5. In disyllabic stems of the pattern [ (C)VVCVC ] the V<sup>2</sup> is deleted due to the operation of the vowel reduction rules.

(i) Deletion of ə occurs when any vowel follows as affix e.g. /əra/ to earn  
 /əra/ earning, /əra/ earning man, /əra/ he earned, /əra/ let him earn,  
 /nə-əra/ he does not earn.

(ii) Deletion of /a/ occurs when /a/ follows as an affix e.g. /uga/ to open  
 /uga/ opened.

## 2.10.2 Derivative base

Verb-stems derived by the combination of derivational affixes to the base morphemes are called derivative base. These are of two types—(1) Primary Derivative base, (2) Secondary Derivative base

In Primary derivatives the base-morphemes are derivationally bound-morphemes whereas in Secondary-derivatives the base-morphemes are stems.

Primary Derivatives-Base-morpheme + /i/, /a/, /u/

Examples: al /ala/ to sway, gu/ /gu/ to roll up, oc /oca/ to lay bed,  
 /k/ cal /cal/ to sift, ju/ /ju/ to stumble, tūN /tū/ to erect, /daga/ /daga/ to jump,  
 /n/ /n/ to weed, ku/ /ku/ to rot, jut /jut/ to join.

## SECONDARY DERIVATIVES

### 2.10.2.1 Denominative-base

\*V<sub>ds</sub> derived from substantives are called denominatives. The derivation process involves affixation of /i/ or /a/ with the substantive stem.

e.g. /at/ hand	+i /ati/ to touch
/isa/ envy	/isai/ to envy
/aga/ front	/agai/ to obstruct
/kop/ anger	+a /kopai/ to be angry
mul/ root	/ma/ to begin
kam/ work	/kamai/ to earn wage
sunt/ peace	/santai/ to make peace
/me/ he-goat	/mekai/ to castrate

## 2.10.2.2 Causative-base

The causative-bases are derived from the simple bases by the addition of the causative morphemes /a, o/ or /i/.

/i/ occurs with stems of the pattern [(C)V CVV]) as an infix between the VV-sequence, e.g. gu-a-i- gu-i-u- 'to roll up'. a occurs elsewhere, e.g. a -/to sew so si-a-lu. He caused to sew, ka-i-to do /ka k-e-ni-a He caused to do

## 2.10.2.3. Negative-base

The negative-bases are derived from the common Vsts. by prefixing the negative morphemes /na/ or /nai/.

There are two negative verbs in Dena-/naə/ 'not to be' and /nai/ 'to deny' which are derived from the Vsts o, and a, by the prefixation of /na/ and /nai/ e.g. /naə, /naə o/

, nai = /nai + aə/.

In Onya exactly similar verbs are found as /naə/ 'be' and /nai/ 'deny'. (The later form is found rarely in ancient poetry)

It may be noted here that—

(1) /naə/ has regular conjugation like any other Vsts.

(2) /nai/ has conjugation only in customary category

The following morphophonemic changes occur in its conjugation for different person and number due to the operation of vowel reduction rule: [ə + a/u] → a/u, e.g.

1st P.Sg	/na + ai/	/nai/	Plu./na + ou/	/naə,
2nd	/na + ou/	/naə/	/na + uə/	/naə,
3rd	na + oə	naə	/na + uə/	/naə,

Note

In all the above types of derivative-base having the shape of [(C)VC (C)V] the final V, which is invariably /i/, is deleted when vowel suffixes of P-N category are added for the inflection of Imp and Negat v-form e.g. oca-i to lay bed na oca-i shall not, na oca-i You oca-i you do, oca-i Let them do

## 2.10.3. Compound-base

Compound-base is formed by juxtaposing two stems. The first member of the compound may be a verb or a noun stem, but the second member is necessarily a verb stem. The first member occurs in its stem-form or in non-finite verb-form and the second member takes the inflectional affixes of the finite verb-form.

In the compound-base the second Vst only subserves the meaning of the first stem. Hence, the first element is to be treated as main verb and the second as auxiliary or subsidiary verb.

Desia compound-bases may be divided into the following three groups for the convenience of their treatment from morphological as well as syntactical points of view

### 2.10.3.1 Conjugational Compound-base.

Desia finite verbs of the aspective categories may be treated to be compound verbal phrases. In these constructions two Vsts. participate. The main Vst. occurs with the aspective affixes as the first member and the auxiliary Vst. occurs as the second member with the inflectional affixes for tense /mood, person and number. The combination of these two stems may be regarded as compound-base.

e.g. *kər kərɔ ac/ɪ am doing/kər rəɪ/ɪ had done*

### 2.10.3.2 Reduplicative Compound-base

In these types of base the first member is the reduplicated form of the main Vst. and the second is an explicator. The reduplication may occur in the following three manners—

(i) When the base stem is reduplicated that indicates simple repetition of the action referred to by the Vst. e.g. *mar to beat mar mar kərɔ* He beats repeatedly.

(ii) When the stem is reduplicated with aspective affixes that indicate prolongation of the action.

e.g. *mərɔ mərɔ nəl* He took him beating incessantly.

(iii) When the reduplicated stem occurs first with the nominal affix, *a*, and next with *i* that indicates reciprocal action or varieties of similar action e.g. *mərɔ mərɔ oibər* They will beat each other.

*mərɔ mərɔ kərɔ* they will beat and assault in similar ways.

### 2.10.3.3 Stylistic Compound-base.

Common simple verbs are sometimes found in effect veiling expression to certain subtle senses. In those circumstances subsidiary verbs are employed to convey the desired senses. These subsidiary verbs modify or strengthen the meaning of the main verb. Hence, these may be better called as explicators. These are employed to indicate the following senses—ability, compulsion, continuation, commencement, or termination of action, suddenness, accomplishment, intensity, probability, prohibition, passiveness, vehemence, intention, causation etc.

A list of some common explicators in Desia is given below

*ɪs/* to come—Abilitative, e.g. *kərɔ-ɪs/* knows how to do

Suddenness of commencement or intensive-e.g. *dəbrɪ ɪs/* He came fastly.

*ac/* to be. Conjugational, indicative of present tense

e.g. *kərɔ-ac/ɪ* am doing.

*ɪn/* to bring. Adverbative, e.g. *peɪ ɪn/* He pushed him in

/uʃ/ to rise up. Intensive, e.g. /maʃ uʃa/ He became furious.

o-/to be Passive (impersonal) e.g. /kʌ oʃa/ Eating was done.  
Syntactic, e.g. /ʃakaʃ oʃa/ It was narrow.

/kæ/ to do. Causative e.g. /bāda kəʃa/ He caused to band.  
Syntactic e.g. /kam kəʃa/ He worked.

/ʃa/ to go. Passive, e.g. /kʌ ʃa/ It became rot.  
Completive, e.g. /kʌ ʃa/ He devoured.  
Inceptive, e.g. /mari ʃa/ Let it die.

/dar/ to hold. Continuative e.g. /ka:dar dərʃa/ He went on eating.

/de/ to give. Intensive e.g. /ka:de/ He ate away.

/do/ to

Benefactive /kʌm deʃa/ He fed.

Syntactic, /kan deʃa/ He eavedropped.

Adverbative /duan deʃa/ He transported.

/ne/ to take. Intensive, e.g. /ka:ne/ He stripped off.  
Ego-Benefactive, /ka:ne/ He ate to content.  
Adverbative /ola:ne/ He carried hanging.

/ni/ to deny. Negative, e.g. /ka:ni/ He refused to eat.

/pa/ to throw. Adverbative /ka:pa/ He cried out.  
Benefactive /so:pa/ He plunged him into sleep.

/pa/ to get. Acquisitive e.g. /de:pa/ He found out.  
Syntactic, /ka:pa/ The thorn pierced.

/pa/ to be capable. Abilitative, e.g. /ka:pa/ He can do.

/mi/ to be available. Acquisitive, e.g. /de:mi/ Meeting (with him) is possible.

/ra/ to remain. Conjugational, e.g. /ka:ra/ I had done.  
Statical, e.g. /ka:ra/ You continue to do.

/lag/ to be engaged. Inceptive (involvement)  
e.g. /ka:lag/ He continued in-eating.  
Syntactic, e.g. /ka:lag/ He felt restless.

There are some specific explicators in Desai which combine with particular nominal or verbal stems to convey certain definite meanings. A list of some such explicators is given below.

/ka/ to bring out, e.g. /ka:ka/ to vomit out by inserting finger.

/dar/ to hold, /kop dar/ to be angry, /mul dar/ to start a work.

/ʃa/ to lift, /ka:ʃa/ to cough.

/ba/ to break, /ba:ba/ to stretch limbs.

- /mar-/to beat /pan/ mar-/to run, /tap/ mar-/to clap.  
 mala mar-/to clean field for plantation,  
 /pat-/to tear, /teŋ/ pat-/to gape, /a/ pat-/to yawn  
 /pɛc-/to plan /ɛkar pɛc-/to be jealous  
 /mɛtɛk-/to twinkle /ki mɛtɛk-/to wink.  
 /a.ɛt-/to turn back /ɛt aɛt-/to stutter  
 /pɛtɛt-/to open /kɛtɛt pɛtɛt-/to disclose a secret.  
 /kep-/to jump /ulal kep-/to put forth flames.  
 /ot-/to put on, /pɛd ɔt-/to set trap.  
 /bɛd-/to bind /gɔr bɛd-/to marry, /ɛlu bɛd-/to deposit cash  
 leka bɛd-/to make an account, /dos bɛd-/to accuse  
 /mɛt-/to free, /kɛrɛ mɛt-/to wear napkin, /gɔr mɛt-/to  
 perform rites to free the spirits, /pɛka mɛt-/to sprout new shoots.  
 /rɛc-/to mass, /kɛ rɛc-/to colour, /kɛtɛt rɛc-/to arrange a load for carrying  
 with a staff  
 /bɛt-/to pick up, /gɛtɛt bɛt-/to open a knot.  
 /kɛtɛt to scorch /gɛt kɛtɛt-/to tickle  
 /ɛu-/to wring /tɛd ɛu-/to carry tails,  
 /pɛt-/to bloom /jal pɛt-/to sweat  
 /upɛt-/to sprinkle /tuk upɛt-/to spit out  
 /rɛt-/to polish, /dɛt rɛt-/to brush  
 /pɛt-/to squeeze out, /dud pɛt-/to milk.  
 /ɛp-/to admit, /dos ɛp-/to admit a fault.  
 /ɛk-/to drag /nɛk ɛk-/to blow out nose, /pan ɛk-/to draw water from a well.  
 /tɛt-/to sheaf /pɛtɛt tɛt-/to saw.  
 /ɛpɛt-/to press, /pan ɛpɛt-/to irrigate or hold water in the field.  
 /uɛt-/to rise /pɛpɛt uɛt-/to bubble.  
 /bɛt-/to sit, /buna bɛt-/to shrink, /bana bɛt-/to paint.  
 /buɛt-/to sink /bɛtɛt buɛt-/to lose sense, consciousness.

## SYNTAX

3.0 In Desia we come across various types of sentences. We may broadly place them in two categories—(i) Major sentences, and (ii) Minor sentences.

3.1 *Major sentences* may be further divided into the following three types—  
(1) Simple-sentence, (2) Compound sentence and (3) Complex-sentence.

The above division and subdivision of sentences are based on the occurrence of clauses in the sentences.

*Clauses* are the largest constituent units of a sentence. A clause means a 'maximal unit of utterance' which is normally 'carried by a particular intonation - contour'.

There are two types of clauses—(1) Independent clause and (2) Dependent clause.

An *Independent clause* can occur in isolation without entering into any further construction. But a *Dependent clause* occurs only as a part of a larger construction i.e., a sentence. A structurally independent clause is treated as a dependent clause when it occurs in a larger construction containing two or more clauses. This type of subordination of an independent clause is termed as paratactic.

Clauses are analysable into its constituents, called, *Phrases*, which are of several types, such as, Noun-phrase, Adverbial-phrase, Emphatic-phrase, Vocative-phrase, Verb-phrase, etc.

In a sentence where number of clauses are strung together, the main-clause contains a complete verb-phrase and the subordinate-clauses contain incomplete verb-phrase. Occurrence of other types of phrases is not obligatory in any type of clause.

### 3.1.1 Simple-Sentence.

A simple-sentence is made of a single clause which is a main-clause. The favourite type of construction is Subject-Predicate variety. It may be noted here that the subject can optionally be 'dropped' if the predicate is a verb, because in Desia the subject is implicitly marked in the verb, e.g. *ka:k I ate, ka:k He ate*.)

The verb in the predicate position may be an intransitive verb (e.g. *mu: basi I sat*) or a transitive verb with an object (e.g. *mu: take deki I saw him*).

In equational constructions where the predicate is not a verb, the predicate attribute may be a noun (e.g. *mor neo kelupatar My name is Kelupatar*), an adjective (e.g. *se masi bo: catur That woman is very shrewd*) or an adverbial (e.g. *se upre mu: tele He is at the top and I am at the bottom*.)

### 3.1.2. Compound Sentence.

A compound sentence is a combination of two or more simple-sentences with or without connectives, e.g. *se asla, mu: gali:-se asla pare mu: gali I went after he came*.

### 3.1.3. Complex Sentence.

Complex-sentences are made of one main-clause and one or more subordinate-clauses which are joined to it by parataxis, i. e., with the help of some special subordinating elements, such as connective particles other than 'ar (and) jo' (relative), relative pronouns, gerundial verb-forms etc.

#### Characteristics—

(1) Each clause is identified by a tentative or final pause at its end. Normally the main clause is marked with the final intonation contour.

(2) The nucleus of a complex sentence is the main-clause which normally occurs at the final position and the pre-nuclear subordinate-clauses precede it in a sequential order. e. g. *se he ac jai al kari, mangia buni sarie muj rōd-bat kari, take nei-debi* He, going to the field ploughing the land, when finishes showing the millet-seeds I, cooking the food, shall carry to give him.

(3) If the subordinator is a conditional marker, not more than one subordinate-clause can follow the main-clause. e. g. *se deic, muj nebi* I shall take if he gives.

(4) If a subordinator occurs in the subordinate-clause, it is usually followed by certain anaphoric elements in the main-clause.

e. g. *se jeve jasi, muj tene jibi* Wherever he goes, I shall go there.

*se ju kasei, muj to kabi* What he says, that I will do.

(5) An independent-clause can parenthetically occur within a major clause as a subordinate-clause.

e. g. *se pol'-a, jeva toke kari deaci seja take deides.*

(That flower, which I have given you yesterday, you give that to him).

(6) A dependent-clause without any predicate can occur as a subordinate-clause anaphorically.

e. g. *tui aka juti, tui aka po emu* You alone will be the son-in-law, you alone will be the son.

### 3.2. Minor Sentence

Minor sentences are elliptical constructions which do not contain all the constituent elements of a complete clause.

The following types of minor sentences are found in Dena.

(1) Clauses without subject e. g. *(tui) so/come!*

(2) Vocatives, e. g. *o bejai/Oh, friend!*

(3) Fragments of dialogues—

Question—*fajau/Will you go?*

Response—*pu/I shall go. a/yes, tuci/No*

Greetings *fjau/I salute you.*

• Exclamations, Announcements—*ci/He on you, ba/well-done*



### 3.3. Phrase and Word Order

The sentence, the clause and the phrase are analysable as two of their immediate constituents such as topic and comment, subject and predicate, head and attribute. Although there is no restriction on selection of order, the most common habits are: the comment follows the topic, the predicate follows the subject and the attributes follow the head of a construction.

In simple-sentences the topic consists of the subject, and the comment is the predicate. But in complicated sentences the topic may be the object and the comment may include both the subject and the predicate.

- e g./se bar kula/He ate rice.  
se lok-la-ke, mu dekuci/I have seen that man.

#### 3.3.1. The Subject

The subject slot is filled by nominals or equivalent phrases

Besides nouns and pronouns, the following form-classes may occur as subject

Adjectives—e g./ba li kō-la, The elder wife told

Verbal attributes—e g./s<sup>h</sup>genaja bel-an/Bring that which has been stored.

Adverbials—e g./b<sup>h</sup>ar bōe n<sup>h</sup>amol/The inside is very clean

Verbal-nouns—e g./s<sup>h</sup>ani bol n<sup>h</sup>ai/Texture is not good

The noun-phrases occurring as subject are endocentric constructions having nouns as the head or nucleus. They are of two types—Co-ordinate and Attributive. In co-ordinate constructions the heads occur without attributes. They may be additive type having two nouns related or joined by a connective, (e.g. ma j m<sup>h</sup>an<sup>h</sup> husband and wife ma ar pla mother and child po ki j son or daughter) or appositive type having two nouns serving each other as head and attribute (e.g. ma papi the winner ma l<sup>h</sup>po member of the gardner's family). In attributive constructions the head occurs with some modifying attributes.

The attributive expansions of the head may be anticipatory or sequential.

The following types of anticipatory attributive expansions are found in Desai

Attributive adjectives—e g./ba a n<sup>h</sup>ake, The old monkey.

Demonstratives—e g./se pila/That boy.

Pronominal derivatives—e g./emta kata/Such story

Numerals—e g./jo,ek am/Two mangoes.

Genitive nouns—e g./g<sup>h</sup>ar p<sup>h</sup>ol Own tree's fruit 'tar gas His cow

Verbal derivatives—e g./kula am, Rotten mango, 'karhar lok/The person to eat 'c<sup>h</sup>gti bai Steep path 'na-l<sup>h</sup>ora bala Dancing bear

Only numerals and the determinative *la* occur as sequential expansions.

e g./pala gojek, One boy./lok-la/That man

## 3.3.2. The predicate

The predicate slot is filled by verbs or equivalent phrases.

A complete verb occurring as the nucleus can have the following types of expansions—

Demonstratives—e. g. *muṣ seṭa kə:l* I told that.

Negative markers—e. g. *no kə:l, ɔ:kə:l na* He did not do.

Noun phrases with case-suffixes—e. g. Instrumental—*muṣ ʔaN-səʔ go mar*, I beat with the stick.

Locative—*ʔe ʔlɔc aca* He is in the village

Ablative—*tu ʔəre-un* aɪ You bring from home

Non-finite verb-forms—

Nominals—*ʔəʔe kəa kə:l* He ate a real big eating

Infinitives—*so kaibar ʔa* He went for eating

Gerundials—*ma maŋ paɪa* I ran away having beaten

Conditional—*mu paɪe kəb* I shall do if I can

Adverb of concomitant action—*ʔe kəʔe ʔaɪe* He is going while eating.

Finite verbs—*mu, kəb kə:l* I told 'I shall do'.

Adverbials—*ebe aɪa* He came now, *ɪɪ aɪa* Came here, *ɔnta kə:l* Did like this, *eɪk deɪa* Gave this much

In equational constructions the following non-verb forms occur as nuclei in predicate position with or without attributive expansions—

Noun—e. g. *seṭa mənə* That is a humanbeing

Adjectives—e. g. *seṭa sunder* That is beautiful

Adverbials—e. g. *se aɪu mu paɪe* He is first, I am next

3.3.3. In objective constructions the normal order is —Subject Object-Verb. But instances of Object occurring before the Subject are not rare (e. g. *mu take maɪ, take mu maɪ* I beat him). Sometimes the change in order affects the sense to some extent, e. g. *mu am kai-aɪ* I (not anyone else) have eaten mango. *am mu kai-aɪ* Mango (not anything else) I have eaten

If there are two objects the indirect object occurs first.

e. g. *mu take am deɪa* I gave him mango.

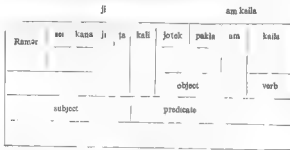
The object may be nominals, endocentric noun phrases, verbs or clauses.  
e. g. Nominals— *se bar kaila* / He ate rice.

Noun phrase —*se sukla-bar kaila* He ate dried rice.

Verb —*se kothake kaila* He told to eat.

Clause —*se kaila maki-bar katha karap* He told it is bad to eat dried rice.

3 3 4 The following diagram represents the favourite order of occurrence of the subject and predicate with possible expansions.



[ Ram's that blind daughter, yesterday two ripe mangoes ate ]

### 3 4. Agreement

In Desu syntactical constructions, the attributive adjectives, though irregularly, agree with noun as regards gender and the verbs regularly agree with the subject as regards person and number.

e. g. / *majjita gendri* / Woman is nasty,

*manusagendra* Man is nasty *mai kaili* I ate, *tui kailus* You ate, *se kaila* / He ate

When there is a string of subjects, the verb agrees with the person and number of one of the subjects. Generally, the verb agrees with the 1st pers. when other persons occur along with it and with the 2nd pers. if the 3rd pers., occurs with it e. g. /*tui, se ar mai galu*. You, he and I went.

/ *se ar tui galu* / He and you went

The verb-form governs the selection of any particular case form of the noun or inflectional form of the verb-stem

e.g. *kala take maula* The jackal killed him

/ *se kala ate mata* He was killed by the jackal

/ *se dola* /He washed, *tar dola oila* His washing was done.

## 3.5. Particles

The particles which occur with the subject or in the predicate are listed below. Most of these morphemes are unexpandable link words and have different functions depending on their position in the sentence.

## Interjections —

- /ja / (Note of refusal)  
 , aʔ / (Note of condemnation)  
 / beʔ / (Note of appreciation)

## Injunctives —

- / be / -e. g. /take des be / Give him.  
 , gande / -eg. /kene galusni gande / Where are you going ?

## Invocatives —

- /e/ -e. g. /e benal / Oh, friend !  
 /re/ -e. g. /re benal / Oh, friend !  
 /o/ -e. g. /o benal / Oh, friend !

## Emphasizers —

- /so/-e. g. /moke-se kaila / Told me particularly  
 /e/-e. g. /mad e unbi / Shall bring wine too.  
 /to/ -e. g. /tui to kailus / You, indeed, told !

## Affirmatives —

- /E., /oy/- /ayi - Yes.

## Negatives —

- /na/, /nai /—/ nain / -No.

## Interrogatives —

- /kai / What, / ki / What, kene / Where, kon / Which etc. e. g. /  
 deisu kay / Will you give ? / debi ki / Shall I give.

## Determinatives —

- /ta /—/ ti / -e. g. /lok-ja / That particular man.  
 /ti / indicates demonstrative sense.)

## Modulators —

- /ta, -e. g. /dele ts mebi / How can I take unless he gives ?  
 /ta / e. g. /moke kai de ta / Tell me for God-sake.  
 /ni / -e. g. /moke de-tu / Please give me.  
 tu -e. g. /moke de-ti / Give me first.  
 , /e / -e. g. /tui kailus je / Did you not tell?

## Adverbatives —

In addition to the pronominal derivatives listed in the section 1 2. 4. the following may be mentioned here.

Adverbs of time aṇi today, kaḥ tomorrow, ebe now, pacc / afterwards etc.

Adverbs of manner dīre slowly, dape fastly, e para like this, /begi / quickly etc.

Adverbs of quantity / aka alone, ' una less, adik / more, jak all, malka / entire etc.

## Adverbs of place—

/agtu/first, forward/pac/last, backward,/logo/near,/durka/far,/bear/outside, /bitar/inside,/iti/here, /iti/there,/uper/ top,/tal/bottom/muan/frontyard etc.

## Prepositions and Postpositions—

/unu/other, /arkar/another, /bina/separate, different/saja/certain, /loka/as the rate of ,/para/like, /ete/in truth etc.

## Conjunctives—

Copulatives—	/ar—ari/and	e.g. ae ai neu/He and I
	/pun/again	(It is used in narrations)
	/ni/and	e.g. /kala ni bag ni marigala/The jackal and the tiger died.

/musa/also, although

e.g. dele musa melana/Did not take even though offered

Resultatives—/suno e.g. /koile suna jibi/shall go provided I am told

/matar/but

/ale/if, na-ole/if not

Alternatives—/ki/e.g. /bat ki pej/rice or grael

/na—bat na pej. rice or grael

/ki-na—/densu ki na/will you give or not

Causatives—/kari e.g. /ka kari gala/Went having eaten

/boli/ jibi boli kuli/Told to go

/gm. because of

/lagi—for the sake of

kaye, for the reason

/abe—then, for that reason

/sari. soon after that

e.g. /dele sari ,bi/shall go as soon as he gives

## APPENDIX

## 3.6. Sample Sentences with Grammatical Analyses

1 /gote toki dui ma:ʃi mənus ro:sa/

[one girl two wife husband they-stayed]

There lived a couple with a daughter.

/go/ə .məʊt/—Attributive noun phrase; Subject.

/go/ə:əʊə Numerical adjective

/təki/ɡɜ: Noun

/—/ Copulative/and/dropped

/du:/tuə Numerical adj.

/ma:ʃi mənus/husband and wife,—Additive noun phrase.

/ma:ʃi/ʊmənə Noun

/məʊs/mən Noun

/ro:sa/they-stayed,—Finite verb, Predicate

/stə/to stay Verb-root

/ə/ —Thematic vowel occurring before affixation

/ɪ/ —Past tense indicator

/əɪ/ —P-N suffix for 3rd P. Pl.

2. /se mənəs got ʃibi bəli bə:la/

(That man guest I-shall-go thus he-came-out)

The husband started out for visiting the relatives.

/se mənəs, Attributive noun phrase, Subject.

/so/that Demonstrative

got ʃibi, Parenthetic independent clause.

/—/ /ma:/the subject is dropped

/got/guest/ Noun

/ʃibi/I-shall-go. Finite verb

/ʃi/ə go Verb-root, allomorph of /ʃə/.

/bi/ Future tense indicator

/ɪ/ P-N suffix for 1st P. Sg.

/bəli/thus and Conjunctive particle  
(Quotation marker)

/bə:la/he-started-out, Finite verb

/bə:li/come out'. Verb-root

/ɪ/ Past tense

/ə/ P-N suffix for 3rd P. Sg.

3./ *joku ar tar ma bejorna* (ano ju ik-marla .[*gari* and her mother *bejorna* at having-gone they-- shouted]The mother and the daughter going near the *bejorna* (place at the village outskirts for throwing impure things) shouted at him from behind.

<i>joku ar tar ma</i>	Additive noun phrase, Subject
<i>ar/and</i>	Copulative particle
<i>tar/her, has</i>	Possessive pronoun
<i>ma</i>	Oblique base of 3rd P. Pron. <i>se</i> .
<i>/r/</i>	Genitive case affix
<i>/bejorna .jai/</i>	Subordinate clause
<i>/bejorna (ano/</i>	Noun Phrase
<i>(ane/near</i>	Adverb of place
<i>/tan/place</i>	Noun
<i>/e/</i>	Locative case affix
<i>/jai/having gone</i>	Non-finite verb
<i>/je/to go</i>	Verb-root
<i>/i/</i>	Gerundial perfective
<i>ik marla, shouted</i>	Compound verb
<i>ik /loud call</i>	Noun
<i>/ma/to beat</i>	Verb-root, here subsidiary verb
<i>la.</i>	Past/ <i>i</i> /plus 3rd P. Pl. P-N suffix

4./ *Patu gole barna gole mēp-an.*  
(earthen-pot one broom-stick one you-bring)

"Please bring from them (as presents) one earthen-pot and a broom-stick."

<i>/patu. gole/</i>	Object
<i>/gole/one</i>	Unit marker, adj
<i>/-/</i>	<i>/ni/</i> the subject is dropped
<i>/mēp an/</i>	Verb
<i>mēp to beg</i>	Verb-root
<i>/i.</i>	Gerundial perfective
<i>/an/to bring</i>	Verb-root
<i>/-/</i>	Imperative suffix for 2nd P. Sg.

5. *anbi ke se menas bari-gala/*

[I-shall -bring having-said that man went away]

The man promising them to bring the things went away

<i>anbi/I-shall bring</i>	Finite verb
	Vst'/an/ - /b/future+ /i/1st P. Sg.
<i>ke/having said</i>	Non-finite verb
	Vst'/ka/to say+ /i/ Gerundial perfective
<i>se menas/that man</i>	Attributive noun phrase, Subject
<i>/bari-gala, went away</i>	Finite verbal phrase
<i>/ga/to go</i>	Suppletive form of the verb <i>/a/ia</i> Past

6. /santi-santi-rai/      /santi-santi-rai/  
(ghost was hearing from the graveyard)

A ghost was listening to them from the graveyard.

/santi-santi-rai/ he was listening. Finite verb, Past imperfect

/rai/ to hear      Verb-root

/ti/      Imperfect aspect

/ra/ to remain      Auxiliary verb

/santi-santi-rai/ Graveyard      Noun

-ne uni/      Ablative case affix. (Locative-s+uni)

7. /bejornar      /bari/      /pathi/      /dari-kari bari-sai/ So manuser gave/  
of bejornar broom earthen-pot holding came out man's house that-in/.

He came to that man's house carrying the broom-stick and earthen-pot from the bejornar.

/dari-kari/ carrying      Non-finite verb

/dar/ to hold      Verb-root

/kari/ having done      Conjunctive particle

/bari-sai/ came out      Compound finite-verb

/bar/ to come out      Verb-root

/sai/ to come      Verb-root

/gari/ into the house      Noun phrase

/gari/ house

/ai/      Locative case affix.

8. /kadi uga/ /tiki aili mu/

(said-he open daughter came I)

He said, 'Open the door, daughter! I have come back.

/kadi/ he said      Finite verb

/uga/ open      Imperative form with /-mu/, affix

/tiki/ daughter      Vocative

/aili/ I came      Finite verb (Vai/a/ + /I/ past with /I/P-N.)

/mu/ I      1st person pronoun.

9. /Kapi/, uga/lay, take rad-bai/ kari delay/

(door they opened to him cooking having done they-gave)

They opened the door, then cooked and served him food.

/rad-bai/      Tag-word

/rad/ to cook      verb-root

/bai/ to serve      "



- 10./ Jete bat dele Kasu-acc/  
(as much rice if-given he -is-eating)

He ate as much rice as they gave him.

Jete/as much	Pronominal adjective from relative pron./Je/
/dele/if given	Non-finite conditional verb
/de/to give	Verb-root
/la/	Conditional conjunctive
Kasu-acc/he is eating	Finite verb
/Ka/to eat	Verb-root
/a/	Thematic Vowel
/ni/	Non-Past tense affix
/ao/to be	Auxiliary verb
/r/	P-N suffix for 3rd P.Sg.

- 11./ toku kaila seja baba nøy nya

(girl told that one father not mother)

The daughter said 'Mother : that man is not my father.

/so/a/that one	Demonstrative
/se/he	3rd person pron.
/la	Determinative particle
/nøy/he is not	Finite verb
/no/	Negative morpheme
/o/ to be	Verb-root
/r/	P-N suffix for 3rd P.Sg.

- 12 baba ale moke kanjek deita/

(father if-had-been to-me a-portion he-would-have-given)

'Had he been my father, he would have given me some food.'

/ale/	Conditional conjunctive particle
moke/to me	
/mo/	Oblique base of 1st person/mu/
ke	Accusative case affix
kandek	Fractional adj. ( /kand/-piece, /ek/one)
/deita/	Finite verb
/de/to give	Verb-root
/ta/	Contingent/ t + /a/3rd P Sg. P-N affix.

13./ seja      ka:      '      go'e      φnma      para/

(that-one what one ghost likely)

'That one is most likely a ghost'

/ka:/what      Indefinite pron.

/para/like      Comparative particle ~

14./ se ma n ar go'e go'e ja puri-dela/

(that mother daughter another house-in having-gone entered)

Then the mother and the daughter took asylum in another house.

/se..ji/      Subject

/se/that      Demonstrative

/ma-ji/      Additive noun phrase

/ar/ another

/puri-delay/Compound finite verb

/pur/to enter      Verb-root

/da/to give      Subidiary verb conveying accomplishment. of the action with intensity.

15./ selok      kəla:emti      bejəna      ja      φakbar      nai/

(they told like-this      "      having-gone calling-to not)

Those people told them, it was not proper to shout like that near the bejəna

/selok/they      3rd person plural

/se/      Demonstrative

/lok/folk      Noun

/emti/like this      Pronominal adj. from/e/this

/φakbar/calling      Infinitive

/φak/to call      Verb-root

/ba/      Infinitive affix (nominal/ba/+ it/genitive)

/nai/not      negative verb.

DESIA  
A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT

SECTION-II  
TEXT

## DESIA-TEXT

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## INTRODUCTION

Desia is a spoken dialect. There is only a single booklet in the dialect entitled 'Nutan Cait Parab Git', published by Bikasa Pratisthan, Jeypur, pages 33, which contains about 70 stanzas of Kindri-git and a story written by Sri Ramanatha Panda. Two other booklets published earlier by the same author under the titles 'Cait Parab Git' and 'Pani mangala jhai' are standard Oriya compositions having occasional occurrence of Desia words.

The materials compiled in the corpus here have been collected straight from the lips of the Desia speakers during the field-studies undertaken in between 1963-67. Most of these were tape-recorded and the rest were noted down in long hand from the speeches of the following persons:

1. Dunda Hanthal Nandapur, aged 45, literate, Rona by caste, and Dnsari by profession. He is the main informant and has supplied bulk of materials.
2. Gata Pursuti Serampur (9 miles from Nandapur), aged 30, illiterate, Rona.
3. Manguli (40) of Thuba, Shakuntala (20) of Khemoduguda and several other middle aged ladies from different villages under Nandapur Block who were taking training in poultry breeding during 1965 summer at Nandapur.
4. Samra Dora (40)—Nandapur, illiterate
5. Guru Mudli (50)—Semla (4 miles from Nandapur), Parenga
6. Balaram (25) —Guru's son
7. Kilo Asta (50)—Kanchana, Parenga
8. Murlu khula (30)—Tikrapada, Gadba
9. Dobek Pajari (25)Ornaga (Kudumulguma) Dideyi
10. Ghasi Gudiya (25)Kanangi (Kudumulguma) Dideyi
11. Mangala Mudli (40)Cindri (Koraput), Bareng Paroga
12. Jamadar Naik (45)Kalapadi (Koraput), Bareng Paroga
13. Masamad Kami (40)Jharapali (Malkangiri), Koya
14. Lakhan Naik (25)Milamani (Malkangiri), Goud
15. Dom Majhi (40)—Gitisala (Nawarangpur), Bhatra
16. Padabhi Bhatra (30)Haunli (Nawarangpur), Bhatra

Informations and specimens were also collected from several other persons who were encountered on the way, at market place, Bus-station, Collectorate and other office premises. Students of Nandapur Middle School provided some materials by participating in the competitions on writing stories and describing seasonal festivals in their own dialect.

The Corpus compiled here contain only selected pieces out of a large body of collected materials.





da0ri—tuu ta kaba, kenti kan pata k0ri kuusu moke ? kenti boy deisu

kelia—ā seſa dei na parſa ? tu moke rāibi boli kē. kuaku o gōre  
kelia iſokar pōce pōce maſar galani se ja enu upre cōgi deſa acē.  
kurpake akari deſa, btre dāgi kari atu upre utāra rau oſi dāgi  
bāria—naſ ke mau ja. kōbi, kēba moke bāba ebo boli kailam dāgi  
ja naſ ke kēla kēmti bōda ebo ? naſ au pāria kēla—ke e dāgi  
—je tu bāba eſu e gōre ke rau tu eka nūti tu eka po eſu

keŋa : mun boŋbat sabu dei bibe ebi /

пак , кѣке кѣ—си ?

kolam hudar din cihar dehi boia dua din kowlo,a kori maw milaihi /

nak da-g, i ke kane deisu nan-gula, bauli, to nake tinda mudi!  
dokrike deisu gu luga moike pani utrami boli goje sadi deisu,  
nak mant, boli pñc—'a 'a'Nka deisu

kolis moke ka nai babe, saba pmasite.

maket sabu sunja e gajalo kalia baba oia ki ?

kaila poce dakri—ke kaila—mus kalske gose gāo e jibi ata ! celi aabi  
budar din sobu dari aabi !

dekri kaila—tu yomao se kutum man, kaniwa se.

Koha bərigola / makəɪ aɟu-ə-unu bəkra-e u.ɔɾba

makaf an i

dehri — ke ro baba ?

mako: —mən ki sən ! am dundeli behu / ebe kolu-ke hiba kormu be  
tor ju-ke, moko nə deus be ? tor gor pəlaobi tui ar mo-ke  
nəktə kəhəm: ita ! deusu ki nən ?

đokri —tu ta makaj, se kolja / ebe se kajubojl joma/ber gola ace / tu ar  
kenti biha msa be ? du ləkor boji kora, kuŕum ka-ke sorpu  
debu /

makor — mti boji anbar /

barangka mako / soe ki denda mako? kau? leu? boskon bari aila / mako?  
 agtu ani keja? dela / sanya mab antora a: sobu dari ko. aila / budar din  
 din konyu soropake koba aisa aca? baje sania? tui to aji ani acus, mako?  
 to bibe cilani<sup>1</sup>

caul gaul piNades keja kolia /makor kolis cu; daraderi ogala. naker  
baya buigala /kake deba kake caba 'o kalia mada makor mada yud' kola. /  
gao' lokman nyaa koti kolis monor boy leu'ae dela /kolamfonke car mari  
delas



dia karja ciraubar eisi ? e danti moke na rae sina mu na ro eisi e danti  
 moke lora na Kosa baa tas beus sobu koi, goje di songe komaik, ebe  
 boraskor parti goje din mu kemti korbi ? mu na rae, kene ele paibibi poce  
 segore uni se gore jai kaba oi bosu ace se goror baumata goje bar oia - kai  
 oia o aj e mu capra capra oi bosus ? tor satra satri jajaiki ? na moke  
 ke u, ot nar, tor maiji ura ki ? na ke kai boli ko it na moke epara kadi  
 - mu boraskor parti goje din kemti korbi ? goje lok pareki ?

— na re baya, tu setake dantori polasi acus

— kai parti tebe ko /

boraskor parti boke gor-cubeta ! boras keji aile goje din se parti  
 korbarja uja, dei cati densu kacra kuar pinga debar eisi setake tu don  
 polasi acus ?

— oia !

terani se sorda oia barigala satra satri gore satra pocarla - kene  
 jaurilus ja-a, e e par oia ? tor munda parti, tu karpa bolte rasi ?

— na, mama se bai guli je segor jai basi deli

— aji bela bel boraskor parti cixades /

— korbe mama

tengiya goje darla canu upre cogla gor uja, dakra purgibake gor  
 cadela dai din ki im din gola ari satra koda-ebe go e parti ace se parti  
 cixadele purgibake

— kai parti mama ?

— boraskor purna ma'qin nei pinga densu podae —

juji bablasi boraskor ma'qin ketek duarbi gojek lok ? e parti na pari  
 paibibi boli bar oia goje bingloe gola naik gore jai bosla

— kene ailas o ? pejgati dias re pejgati delake naik koda - kebe asus  
 nai, aji ailas

na ba'u, man baga gala goje suni je amar satra satri

— kai kata kailas je ?

boraskor purna ma'qin mu kemti nei pinga setane ?

kole kai oia ? kai pu pingba podae ?

na na semti koc na mu s otot kidebi ele boraskor gobor,

take se purna ma'qin boda tomor satra/kurma kurma kori podae nei dalsu/  
 goje din na sarie misa arkor din sora-dele kai oia "e,ake" e kaiske koda!

terani keiti aile poce peppari karia/ sika kauvi soja la, dala keri sogala,  
 kaka goje darla, kot gadi barigala. bel bosbake pingbar sara dela terani se  
 gor-pali morte ji te se gore kaila/

### The flower worth of hundred rupees as a marriage-presentation

gote dangra gote dangi-ka sutrada sutrada na parla/gote dān gah Kala-  
tai moke a.rua boile toke sse-tonkar-pul dent. sse-tonkar-pul deisu?

-ā dābi

bed maraman odoi!

-tai ja sa e bai, ja se jolae boss-ra mu e bai aibi pan-gar gari sange  
debi/se boat ja je udia bari, ā/pāce barigola udhye go,e ki dūta gāo jai kor  
baigola dāi dān ki caridin rāla dān r ma babu ki/bur gāla/sake āk. keri gore  
dari aia-no den boli pōce dā. dān rāla ar leut te se dān,ake bari gāla dang.a  
tar gare mei gōla/pōce jolaputi delai, sogaria bādi dela tar ma babu kēlar-  
kōmāra us nai/kāniako sorpi delai;

ai pador dān oigala pōce dangi kala-tai to masek porja-ai sutradus. mu  
nā asi boila/sse-tonkar-pul dabu boilus ja de moke pindbi pul debi boli ka lus ki  
mu ai dang a kōla-eja! mu, toke nā rae-bol dang a dari delai;

-sse-tonkar-pul eka anu deli/tai e raj-purti lok-ke, naik cālan-ke boss jo tai ke  
toke sse-tonkar-pul dei sei ki nai?

tei niya bosaman/vob kutam kala-seja se sse-tonkar pul eka' dang i omra  
oigala/kala-mor ma babuke jai kabi se lok kai kabi. pōce ja gore purbako  
tar ma kala-sse tonkar pul pindus joki? tar baba ma kōla semti-e-a se sse  
tonka dei anbar eka' tei uni se bari anu dangia jano.

### VI

#### The old lady and the jackal

du. baba bu . rotilandokra āi jois-dokra. tai pey an re mu kēbar nebi-  
boli dari jasi āle kase nai, kaita kore nai, pōdae nebi, tarā oai deisi, sse deisi/  
dokr. pey-beis oile re neiso ja be tai pey ka-daxle pōce āis, pey kasi, nāngal boisi  
kēnde, gore bari sse dokri kais-tu kēus nai, kaita nai, pōdae ā. āi de su,  
gore dūh rāle kai oia?

arker dān kaita goje bag gote bicar kōla-e dokra āi anu ar sse deisi-ake kami  
keri? kēla kōla- dūt rāla bele tai tu ng keri dari palāsa-mu se āi jo bi je  
kosi reh/pōce dokrake bag toli darigala dokrake nes-toji cab des ar jais oite  
ka. des' kōndek go -ke ca i dela ace Kāsar pa.

kōla āi jo la a kosi se lagi ace dokri pey nea- āo be dokra, moke gore  
kutagora sse, bel oigalanu, begi āo ka,

kōla kēl-aj; kai sag anlus dokra, āi kēnde naman sag ele kabi, mōde n ca/

dokra-baj; sag-ke amhiya kōla am sei/

Kōla-ja, se sag man sei kukura gote potso je bajbi; keri dari āo jaji kabi taj/

dækri murmaria-ketebel kukura potaibi, ketebel bat rāḍbe? e pej sag kai ra/ mu  
rāḍbat kori at-bel lage anbi,

kolia se pej sag karia bagar pai kagde sangai dela pej, ai-ke mehdela ar bosi doi  
aoc taria oca kori pace bag bar a-la-ka kākasi bauga?

"nai kāsai je, pej ka li, bāsi soī dākra kene gata?

-ede dākra got anlihi kades boli kādus,

-mai got aoi bol bol ja kai delusa, ar e got mai karbi?

bag masur masar oi bās a kōḷa bica. kola- e bag kai dela se dākrake dult  
maḍi, ebe se dākri ase kai bolbar be? bagke ka la-dākri ase kai bol be? kenti  
kenti na be? -mai tā kaadeli ebe dākri ke mris ka deli boḍbe se ayas no dasei

-mai ele kaci kai nai, tui kai delau nai na dākri asu take goḷe kata kām

-ka. bol?

pace kua bāḍbeke dākri nai mai i bāsi bat maḍe anla-abe dākra, ede anli ka,

kalia kula-moke ar dākra bolasa ata? mai tā kulu pātā to dākrake tā bag kula-  
ede et so rāka, sede got goḷe ani uti kōye gāli je

dākri mu de kapaḍ mār e kori kākhar daru eia jai odori, te jai odori  
goḷe raḅa paknae ai mund tesu dela mār gān kola pake gala dākrike andra  
pala kor deka pace bagae kola-dākri micigala tui nei kades mai e bolod biki  
ani bu karāṅku mat ka ā bag ka la-jao tebe, mu, e dākri ke ka ka reb kolia  
olek bolodke ked neli se gior lok deklai boḍke agai ai kama nōsi acat-pazaria  
kola-dākrake kua bag, dākri paknae jara okāri mār gala bolod pak bāb  
je ani dosabai kani debi

lāḍker lok kai nait ki? toke kōliake torpa de ai ja puri, ja doku,

gior ok sobi, ata okāri bar ei ai dākri ke bag ka si ace deklai se lok gostu bāḍai-  
kolia ga po be od ka ki neri ac? ame kori kaḍis ra, e kōli ke goḷe ga nat  
kari, kōliake kōlias je dākriar gore caul gūa, ac seja veu je her  
kori deḷ) dākri caul oḷa, napa japa kōli, se ok kōli mārke ani dā m nākole  
kenti ei? daru pōtor kōli se kōshi padae daru rāci dela dākri ar gor, dākri  
goḷe kap ani songe deli kōliake kōlias tui jai lōgao kōli jo lagende ā jō, āgā  
kōli jai dākriar jorek parusa ani a goḷe paruaḷe ara dela goḷe jo pōra dela  
kōliake kai oi-tū ebaḷ tui se baḷ p tighar nā pūgle se bag dā na bo e aya kōsi  
kōli-kōli tebe moke,

be dāmān kōliake daru, jūalāi, jūalāi gulka jai pangai dela mor  
bangake jai purai dela boli se bag jai bethi bol jai p nagi oḷa kolia ai bag ni  
māte micigala,

## VII

### The cowherd couple and the jackal

goḷe ma jai mārmas tola gora dari kori ba dī magi karbi mōmas kōsi-  
"ja re got m tū dākri kaha kalia maḍiḍi" dinke kōsi se magi dinke ai  
baḍi magi neri,

kāla goṭek goṭe dīn sunā'aji mā'gke cab-bi je mā'ḡi-lane se/nāi nāi aṭ  
tā buj bēa se gaurke/gour tane palāla,kāla-oṭe bāi'

kāta ?

tāmōr tīr spake sodadim kassu.ake candin sunā'aji māi māne bicar keli/  
ter ert mōke kōi de, mōle se apake cab-bi mā'ḡi/ru tō kēlus mōke, dari  
cab-bi ēka'

—nāi nāi mui gote lok sakal-um goru mel-bi je dān jak bol bō-te carābi/bel  
gole gore nebā/sede mui kōi-ekta gaur kau kā-e gāu,r-ni adār bīkol jai māḡi  
bulsi/take ke aka saka nāi se ake keli-cab-bi bōile cab sūnā'ōke māter bol n<sup>o</sup>  
kāri,

gaur tēi-um goru anā, para. dēla gaur-ūi ke kāla-ekta gaur kau kre  
Kōla sunā,sakāliya nri gaur tane palāla-'gaurbāi'

—e kēla karpāi aṭ Kōi lagi acus ? toke gaur ḡi sāṅge māḡe ēka marbi

—nāi nāi babu, mārie māi sūnā e ert goṭe kōi de tā'mōke bol n<sup>o</sup> kāri kāmā  
kēlus ? kōi de—

—take jai cable cabtu sūnā toke kēdi kēdi marbi/

—eta!

gaur palāi aṭ/kāla jagi rōla/gour-nāi ke Kōla -oi apa tōr mōmā kāla  
tōke cab-bi bē

—cable cab sūnā, kāli ke cab,

kāla bicar kāla-e ert kāta ? gote dīn gāe jai kāri gote barik ke bujā/barik  
kāla-kālika cab kāla aṭi pōli nāi mājike sōj bēle dari pūkān-aji cab-bi,  
nā ca : ero gōle āḡō s. sene g-īe āḡō si se māi bā'ḡi ḡi sōṅge mā'ḡe māriede  
kōlāke ' kōla mā'ḡi-gā māi gōla rānus tane ḡi p-ācārū-kāli pei anūs māi  
māi kōla-kōlāke māri ḡi sō gō kōla terepete kōrbake mā-ḡe māriede/gaur  
kāla-e ḡi aṭi nō kōibe/ēbe jai bā'ḡi māi an bōli kōibe

## VIII

### Story of the „Dum” people

nā'gāmān kōla-jai t. parkmān, se pōlna gaur lok dari asbar ace jai pur nebake  
am kau t, kau rya utai anu,parkmān bari gōla jōta mōnke utā anā, dos lok  
ke.ḡat yā satiya sika kau t dari bar uaj tāmān tār pō ke jai pur jebake dos  
kau t am dēla paunta bar gōla jai jai kōr-godnā-e nri rāda kōlā/sōbu jōta  
utrāli-radi kām je cōnek pōḡḡi tā,

ari bāi darā tēi-um kōla jai kāri rāi sōlā sepane sakal-um utāi je kopigai/  
dāṅga-e gūlar gātāl dāṅga dēla bāṅre gāt bāi gōku/sōbu kām utrāli-

mā gōu j. mōr kau bō e bōj ' jo ek bā kālīd re er gote kōla-sukh pōter bā  
kāta cūndu/kārbake nō se,gōte lok anā cāi dēkī-e bānā kōnd o/

nāi, kōmā bā se bāh pōḡāc topi dōd/am kāi sārī pōce bā bōi anāḡ ēkāri kāri/

déslok dasta am kailai/esi okari kani bolu anlai/-dek ta, etsi ba kaidu/  
pa al porai kas da amke mared/etake da-lai, kauri boluai, dangolai/raja gore  
keilai/-ame ba nua pu/-u, amba anai/

bat-paura ca: delai/gumastamla be/la/potar dekla

—dasta am nai ! am dasta nau, kas kolai ?

mui toke ba kauri du/be se am ke kau delu je ebe kekikaru ?

am kas kolu ? ja an/

—akia potar ba keta no ae bolu ame kaidetu/jai kale be pitte pita be, kaidetu/  
ae potar kemta kōri dekla ?

mura mura oigalai/gumasta kuli kapi delai/

## IX

## The tiger and the Bramble family

baman bu'a buti malai-dangor tole pa nai pala nai, kuci nai dokri etsi pet,  
porisa gorar apa go e ma dja eunake bera: rala take adan bosala/caul purje  
pakaidela siji alin utare gu/dke pani godis se adan aiba a:de rakedela/tei pej  
gohdela, gū: neia se bap'i pej anlu duare, taltane uja-i kani nun maric darla je  
kaite rala baman dokri galo je pacarla kis lo kasus oi ? mui kate bol e ta oki ?  
pejta setkare mone dari dela je tar at goi puligala pace baman dokri aia-kaki  
puli galsuni ? se kaila-nai, pace ar goje din pacarla dokri kaila-maric ke moke  
boi, sorda lagla take daki mui puli galo

baman bar oila goje mor juga kola mutje goje baidia moric koya bari galo  
jlu jlu bag goje mala mari dei maric rogi dei ace maric pol-la ace,  
jomi jai ace dokri tei barigala ene tene dekla-ke nai jotek tolsu ace bag bol-ke  
ke o morje tolbala ?

—mui babu, jotek tolbai/

—neisu je kake deisu ?

—mui se karbi

—nai, kake debuke nelus-ni/

—kake na dei

ata garob bas ei ace/pula oile tomor, toka oile mor

baman keta oigala bag lok pasli ace bag bolu dokri na jana-gote dalek  
para tol/ toki eia an tui/

dokra tol-la dalek bot anla gore ketla dokri pot para puli duli dei ace/  
mar-dia gu/d anla, adan bosala, pej kalaila nun maric batu kani dela/dokri  
kailake pulu utri gala, naman oigala

can din ki pac din jibake goje toki gadola dekle deki npe sepori toki eia/  
baman kaila-asi jom anai be/kemti kau take deu be eie sador toki ke ?

bag gofa upes cagi kori kan bauli, sorisa mali, kaja luh, aia suta penda ota  
okori aia baman dakri gofe bua muruku pda ani dud cabai kori (to'qde kepas  
kari) bosi ace

bag-mo dangri bot oila ki ?

dakri-tor kapal nai, ede gofe pila oila, toki onas

bag—nai bolas aces, murakbi ki ?

bag dakra—maricboti ! toki bui, oi bar oila ar bagar koi pang oila

—kemi, nai bolas bar celaki nai ? kanya bariman ou muu as, nebi

—kai utigala buia buia tani palas !

## X

### Story of the old couple and the bird

dus buia bui rilai take po nai, pala nas kici nai dan-ke kashake  
dakra jasi dakri pej sag kersi, podae pej nei deui dakra madaemone  
kasi ace-ete mas dan-ace, kebe ka'qde bat ani de nai ra'aji dakri-ke kabi

—dakri muu gofe civer deki aci se gacot polkae ace posic baje soba emi,  
kwa emi po pila naita lok !

dakri kaila—posu re dakra !

—tu ja, bat gofe cangia, gofe dana manis dari ao manis ta'qda kuo nu  
dulte dari ao !

dakri gala gofe kuku-ake mawie maria poia poia kaila, kat kuti kaila bolkari  
rad-bar kola cawae se barke dal-la, manis ke dal-la dawa dakra koi roila  
tu juo je polka uper ke ace tu ja bat-ke murqde bo je ja oi raus,  
polkae uni bar oi kasi

dakri dakra-se kuku cawae peti baje—muu ia oi dakra dakra se ja pari  
ace se bat nei ja karbake se kaila —kailas kuku ? dakra kasi—  
kailas dakri bicari—dulte kaila japi cete kaila, kau e ek cawae ace ? ar  
gore bari gola dakra utaria podae jai kowani dakri dan qinga sag pej  
baila, podae nei dela !

dakra—nei delus dakri ?

dakri—A, dulte nei debu, kaila !

dakra dinke neides, boi ele gore nei uja ka'qde bel kahusu kalike boi/bel ne

dakri—nebi dakra,

ar diwe pade dakra oi joila, barigala podae ! dakri ar aila,—asas kuku ?  
bat ka—pei purte bat kaila dakra, dakri barigala ,

ar din dakri gala—acus kuku ? dakra kaila cang a ke panga dawa dire  
utri kani dajae e parla "cawae kai boi" ! boli sase boi neisi ace dakri !  
kemia kori utarabi gofe lok ? gofe lok-ke dakra—so re nana cawek e  
kuku caweka utrae mu'qde—mu, bote boi ? pa'asa goror hap : palas aia !  
be'asi ketelok, sai jakar lok palai aila ! utaralai je dakra



## XI

## Story of a husband and wife

magi manas vadai ele magi kasake nebi boila manas kela ma  
kuta goru kori radha manas kutbar bala dan kutla kula kojake gala /  
kula anla tipa-dan kast, songe deln, bari gala

magi el poti kori bari gala padne se puri maikas kog bal-lan /  
magi tipa—dan sojake magi bas ace -mur den panbi bol. magi maikas koji  
koti jak kori bari ala gore manas tipa—van koji koji an pa kati koini jana  
bala c murso. magi ala monake kela—tui kai ke bari acus ? nai mud  
dan kuli, mangala ace tipa dan koji je mil-a nai se gina bari aci /  
kaija radbi ? tui kaija kelus ?

—mur msa maikas na paikeri bari aili /

magi manas bearna kela magi ke manas kela bayata toi, gole markas  
darle sina gole maikas eia ! maikas darale piakas an tipa—dan koi  
songe delus ? magi, kela—tipa dan bolala ! angli pa tipa dan en be I

dui lok mast gala ar se kar kamke coj kori kast oia.

## XII

## Story of the old man and the jackals

dui bala buri. vadai dokra dokra pej sag radbas, kaiba : Je olaia  
potli songe sojari dongore bari abai se lok mala kajakla / se tano bunla.  
je danganam, ju-un bir, kadai, kak, bada, kunda seta paci galana, ar  
kaiya oi galana, kaiba bator olaia. dokra kela dokrike—bunbi korbe jina  
sobu paigala nni teigote kura karbi set. na jagde kai kaila kai deba,  
mur jagbi tei tu sakhya, atbel loge pej na. uti ja

dokra radbas kori na. deis. dokra kutia bire joi dok dokai kori, pake  
pali—kara kori sos deis. kela mon tuis ki cala manoj jata oia / —ju n  
se dokrai kadul paci ace, seta kai. dinka ai. kañ e dokra ar kai kara  
samke ?

dokra doli ace kela mon tolia urun mon bavda kela kela—re baya  
mon, ju-un ke klen na kañ, pe, dukas se dokra to ja, lagai ace, tei nei  
po a kañ poile karbar asi mad eis apok kela-dokra cetuk reia !

dokra sasa ace voker keta—ki makra acot kela mon mor jurun sapa  
sarai delane !

kela mon da ke joi pake bala, utunke joi potilais dokra tor kua  
patle—mor ju-un potli—bohkeri se beti kama, se poti kama dokra c murso  
qtr ace kolamon kaila, mule ear gote ruqala ar vaktar puku  
tano mari dela, uti. gala dokra kela—aset nja, so /

tu ear den kaila pace dokrike kela—ju-un, kakri sob uris kai paka-  
lani kela mada dokri kela—kentar karsu be tebe ? —ma dokri, muo  
gole pati karbi juun kari pej gol, kai ele ang ayo na ayo kar je tut  
dari so / dokri kela-anlu /

poco \*sag pey masai foka daigala fokra goto masai mada dera  
barigala agta kaja—masai foka debi, tai jai ko dek euma, des ku aka  
caribeti bar buns dela, cuj dela goto pan i eku ca-i dela tarla goto  
oca, dela fokra ke kaja—tande ga pey rages des pinda gamca be,e nani,  
anta sodium pe, raga, dela pey tala masai mada dera

kaja masai a be, lopo bari asa sabu toli pakalai  
ku ase toli, anla, goto kaja en dekla fokra pa, sarigala, rik, bato  
ga bari oia sede bonda, dara oia fokr mal' be adek loka pa ni rao,  
adek lok ana!

sabu toli ana bute parli fokra ke naje karidek cari be ti bolar -  
jai aj agala, lam lam oia abedda kdr lopo a-i jole pak pak  
kaja mada okoni po r karbar dar rala fokra e, bar sar pa ..  
gohi dela masai ma dse mada me ge mar mami karamoi maza,  
dela bane rana se ba ta take ayedari dela lej ci gals moka darsuk  
re fokra? mor nio ba ga kaja moka paruki?

Se kaja eka ebe ebe acatlar osorman ebe acat kaja borse in p danti kaja  
patar boile bol kani sedin uni kaja mon kada, acat

## XII

### Story of the Jackal and goddess Earth

manus goto kabeake al joma mela pda: nei kaja pey dela oia, pey hola  
otake al meli dela ari nangol jua i sangai dela danti gao jbi in bolis/  
gafe utara.

se kaja se bato gale kaja fakra "e oia be i e borot ketek belusa? mu  
kaiba je toke fadu debi se kaja se e kata oia acat kene gale oia bai? moka  
buk lagla, bol se kaja moya oia acat danti kaja—ka o iu, anka goto  
da, kari ku oia ka bita bubu, janka goto debi poco bol kaja borot ko sabu  
kafri kar aus dela et asat nai, a le debi se kaja galan se manus aia nangol  
lep dekla borot nai. —e borot koi oia? se danti kaja kaja kaja je galan  
ande fadu debi bora acat danti be se kaja, mai mag be tai jai mag, mai  
jbi be buk lagla bol se manus nangol bor uti, gale se kaja pus, kaja ta  
borot kaja bol uti galan,

Se danti de e borot fadu de bol, kajan, se kaja ene dek tene dek oia  
acat, —ka ta deklusi? borot fadu de —a ci gande? bol kaja kaja ja  
palalai jeteke palalai seteke mangia koi jai la oia lei mangia, borot  
fadu de bol kajan oia, kaja sei ven bale palalai acat se danti borot  
fadu de bol ari kaja se kaja oia, kaja gurd oia, ak tane capi oia, borot  
acat, ari kaja borot fadu de se kaja kaja manus lok-ke delas k kaja lok-ke  
delas? nai o niman lok ke del —at take jai mag bol, se kaja kaja se danti  
aj pa raga kaja baje kaja gaa, danti baje danti gale

## XIV

### The Old man and his four daughters

dai fokra fokra rala puni takor pote puni carja munon ponon  
kalan semu cigala puni se munon danti oia, se fokra fokra fokra fokra  
se cigala se fokra puni kaja —ore fokra, tokimon gale setek leka danti

oigalar, bin gore ale jiba ki no jasi/semti se robari be? tokke dekle moke boie burura laga ace,—dokra-ro re dokra, sese' semti root ki na, tšokor asa ele to ba. noke roba, tai ka gen. semti ke ebel teibel gurgara emi acus ale? Dokra sai re dokra, lokimon-ke mu mari pakabu noke pup pakabu ana bin gore ngale, tšoke moke songebake bol no laga/ kene ale ked. pakabu/

Dokra-ro re dokra, semti un na, abulok oi darlu ale take morte mar pakabu, kaigiu semot asi acus?

Semti roigauke jlor lok pun galai dangar par pur cog, koma mala marba, koma dala karbar, koma, ko-akbar, koma nala betbar semti oi pun. piam. kama dokra puni gore uni hikul bar oi nana,

Dokra ale dokra, abulok ja kori dangar par mar paka acot, kotaku aci, tu ka gni jasi na kemtiokori jiba karbu? Dokra—na re dokra, mu kebe no jai, dala mon-ke kebe mari pakabu ki na kene ked. pakabu tabe jai ko akbi, marba sira kebe mu no jai/moke dekbake boie burura mu no songe/

Dokra semti kor na re dokra dai din ale root ki na bin gor jiba juko

Semti roigalai roigale gole din pun dokra koma—na re dokra, tšoke ar, kedie no jasi, a le no jasi kene katu kole kene no jasi/ju dangre pait jo ek luka toa ana, daru jo ek luka korana, ju.

Dokra—na re dokra, mai asi no pun, lokimon—ke dak mas

Se dokra puni a, pait tolbar jiba be boli dape dape some some puni but rüda, sog rüda, nej korla, tok, pake tšoke bosana puni kanda ja babu. ju jo ek luka pait toa ana, tamaraba daru jo ek koro jiba tebe aya abe car boma puni koma, kor-kond ehar, ju pindai oia, bangalai dokra puni pait tengya golek dari golek amai pe, turvek darla, bangala jai ju dokra puni bala jama oia—ara tok moe, aji jama oi, kula kori namar bosi roba, tšone unre daru kara, pait tola, aji asa, ma tole bos roba

oi tebe aba tamar pe, e gya dar tebe, tole mo, ama toli kori tole utri aibu pace so ge b, i kor ju oi tebe

Dokra puni toa amar pe, tengya puni darla, daniamon puni/ ber ga, toa toa git ga, gai nai kor, kor boile puni semti kori bari galai pun, apre cogi cog, kom pun ba, ba ia ngala se du, manda puni koma—oho, e edur korbae korbae ailar, abase to caa dei kon ut oia, ju dala dokra kori ju dala—puni ak mar, ak mar, a ka aie moa puni keri kont to no la tebe dokra, na se padinae puni goce leigya-ka tokde ar jama peke dula ka de a pace gore pun gud gud na gala daniamon ak ma, mari ale puni e baba, kugalai ak ak mar—boli kolo puni se tuma aia koma, se le gya puni—toko koma e baba, ca. deikori kene uigalai? se se gya puni, tako koma se tuma puni, o koma na, re tole sar baba ka, ju ka na toke bel pa/ba, bow se daniamon kaja kaja tokke bari ana se leigya puni goce toki dala ace, tamake puni oia, dei ace,—nai to re baba kene uti gala, kema ou be boli cari boma kadb ar darla

cari boma duka moe kete

caigala baba aji kema ou

nuni bolibi san nuni

karia pule baba o boli koki nuni

karia pule baba moile kai nuni

laj matisi koki nuni—

can boum puni bicar kala—ebe ar kemot od be lu? nai ju be, amor baba to emti mosta keraia acc, take kuaile gote sap deñ se moyo—pote cari boum bar oia, mde kanjek laka gongga bandi o lu ga e, lu kori odd, a, mongala morot nai puni, se batre se mignai kai se gatañ puni gotek donga kela kela kori deñ ja je-odo, etek sandr wak, mon kon deñe la mon, na kori emti oia, nai, tloke yka naba, kila je gongga puru a pani pele puri roñake mangi mangi puni bar keraia, toke shon keraia pote galun, git gal gal danga-a-

manjek pani buñi jani kori de kodom pul

mor ma rani janka dal, souda kanjek dar-

bolu puni ar kanjek kelas, kela kela dangaia puni gore, toke ketek puni kila, dñ, pona keraia dani, bono dñri nai senti ekeri puni a, oia, et, puni keraia snidi keraia, bolu oi keraia kaba kela, se kate rñ, semon bicar kila, unke baba etek mosta koruak, toke ka toke oron so mlo, panduak hoster no mlo, weni o lu mar, dokra panduak pura dñri na senti oi gotek, ben danta ke, as mo bok, toker ayko sap dala gotek dñ, ake puni dñr uligala dokra pasod-la je se dokra puni keraia oron mlo na panduak hoster mde nai, senti rñ, m oi ak, kana bud, bana oi ade dokra mongala,

## XV

### The story of the old couple and the peacocks

dokra dokra puni roñe senti kida kua mac mari, nana, kaniñ/bon porbot mari kori mala mari onek porkar kor /angu, tenge, boda, kakti, biri, pacai kori kalam, kate roñe ro-le mojarmon puni sk, gala pacha naba kate sobad n puni ulikori se manja karbar, dñri ka bar sik gala, dokra dokra puni kata oia-na, re dokra amor malai mojarmon sk gala, kon bud, kori be ? dokra kori senti, na ro dokra, si, go o kua bad tu, ar tu so des, mongala bola kori mai kadbi, mojarmon aile sari tu mar-o o dokra, senti aile kori/

ar se dokra kua gotek puni bandi pakana/sit ja, se sodela dokra onja gata puni dokra ke tuki toge, manje kane ipdeli, ar kadbar bota-toke dokra lok nai, moke dokra lok karbar gongar jaliya mojar se mor lok, dokra lok, mojarmon puni tukiup ala-ei sari deko, dad mola kaka, apa kadana, ala niko sari mojarmon-toke-lok

-ede o apa kadana, dad, mongala kaka, ? ja deko puni, ju-kona puni kate dogei naba, kon mojar, puni pakna dogei aila, ar pake as, kori sunas/ dokra koiñe-toke-lok.

-nai o lok bek ma. apake o nai dajike e nai/morigala se, dinek coneñ tar  
ker beti kori ame kaila acu, tar golek pap konjek kema kori ape, ja je  
sobu manda, take topi dea ar se dokrike amo poso?

se dokra so ace setki bele bar aila. mojurman gor cari be ti bos dela? -  
toke lok 'nai o, take lokhak nai pocala-kai eñ je apa, kadlaun ?-nai bobo,  
omor dad. morigala, ma golek lok kemot oi tibi, kabi be kon budoi eñ ?

-morigala ar tebe kemot kora apa ? ame ne kori be toh pavbu setki  
dapre-ja tebe palamon gore pura je bar kora be, ar mosne ne boli vokri  
koti sobu mojur mandamon puri dela gor btre/setki somoyke dokri dare  
kori koti-kori tati jab re dokra musol bulai des'setki dapre dokri kapat  
gab dela, dokra musol beti kor. take mar take mar kori kontake mari no  
parla, golek coistake darla, ar sobu u palitai se co, atake-tume se mor dan  
kailas, mandai kailas buri kailas. toke aj kori boli se mojurke poiñ pakaila-  
nai re dokri aj golek darla be, tar pati aj kora dokri. puni begi begi caili  
doi pakaila, anj loge bosaila dokra mojur ka ku kori paka radla se dokra  
puni janje bar oi ace dokri puni tar bañe purek mas purek bai kole,  
se dokrake puni talae loge talek bai algo', mas bori kor dela -ao be  
vokra oda pans at do-dokra se ta talar bai caili dei dokri bat dar ala -  
naire dokra se ja mor bati bat, eja tor bakra ede ace, talar bat nekori  
ka, toke butek mas dei aci nai re dokri, aj moke butek mas mon lage  
nai, donar se nebi be, konje para kabi!

dokri busog okori atgor mormaf oi dela dokra dultie kai dela

### Traditional history and myths

#### I

#### RANI DUDUMA

Jani raja bua bua railat puni thokar peye dui bai boum, jonam o lai,  
pila koñjek bor oi ace, tar boum koñdek sam ace se bura bu i morigalai  
je dui bai boum rayalai semu mac mari kida kuni kai bar, neme nai

goñe din tar bai dareke gala tai umi aibake oendramali ñongorka munda  
bo raila, kauri ñongorka kande boirila pu uga ñongorka utai cipai raila-  
boikori amiritar boum kauri mala domke dan kuli bosi raila/tar boi  
bai dekla je amor boum 'esonka oi dan kauri bosi ace kemti kauri be?  
e kauri bidi debi boli duna kauri jopi kari jiki ca i dela se kauri jai ta  
uporke jai gauri oia se dar i kai a poipat kala boli ku, bar aka boñla/tar bai  
kauri bidi jai a nai bira ale bidi deklai boli bita bidi dea se bita jai kori  
se rani pa, bañe jai kari dora kari paila lodbodi ganki ran: paila dekla-  
a e, a mor bai sana caila koti, mas jani naperi, niga oi ku i bosi rani,  
mor kete mas gauri por lok dekle oia, mor bai deklai dela-boli musalko  
pingi dela, kufake bainake pingi dela ator mudi, gorar jutiya, cipi capa sobu  
pingi dela pailuga argori kari rangni upre jai kari rani ñongorae jai pingi  
oia, tar bai dob i gala-o mor boum odri dela-boli jai dekla je uphar busbar  
oia ace bai dari jiki delake muñdor gag i songe jiki oiake se bai se bode  
pingi dela, ar koñje jane bosi kidi pakaila poce gorae cagikori sorbeti baje  
gauri ge gala rani muna gorat gala je ja koñjek migma, se manj gorob otake

take saup dela-tui odek car ruđansu odek culi jakı desu'ten uni barigala  
gadba gore gala'tei jai jai mägla se godobani kōila-e sakal uni koir jai debi  
take saup dela toke sutu nō milu muđe dunu songe kasa bādi o'ajae badu  
rō bōi kōidela ari barigala guja sinu dese

se rani sāje nāga oi muđe bal na bari gala bođja dese bođja gāor  
bođjani man pari ga'e jai tula oi acot se bace rani gala se bođjani man  
qumđa o kōri tui oi acot se ranike deli kōri kata oi nai se rani pacarla je  
kata oi nai kata bođja nai bođja mēor kata

kai pas kata oi nai boli mēne pācla ran-e ranike muđe bal nai bol  
bo dani man kata oħa'e maji kon gāor nāji kata na jani amōr kata  
se ran kōila-mor sogge kata mas nai boli mēne pāci kōri saup de a-tame  
bo'ja bōre bođja oi ja tēmar hui dud muđj juk mal dābi oi raa muđ  
muđj oi rui tēmar kāda jog vadi gore cōter daly au gōrđa kō dek  
sōje qumđa oi rui tēmar manus mēnke dīneke dunu kōj ar rō ta  
kata jani sola jani dunu kōj rai jao saup dei se rani barigala gadaber.  
jai, sid pasli kōri pade puja kailani bođjamōn, gōđja man, pēñjoriu man  
puja delani

kōiri malai se rani bal sumbuja sid pasli acc. erā i capa, juriya, masal,  
kula, bāri tui sid pasli acc tar bār gōa kōj acc

## II

## Benen Raja

dun bu a bu i rālas puni se buia bu i din-ke kāda man anbaka jibai  
dāgore se qakra gole bina se jakra gole bina semā o kāda marbutu  
gō-e din qakra neta oi uhar pila gole gadōla se kāda kale qakra qakra-e  
qakra-bol jakra jakra kōila kairare qakra jakra acus tui'-nai re qakra,  
cōnek ao ta-bol kōla kai odus je 'nas re qakra, pila gole gadōla-nē  
puni deku boli qakra gōa-ake nai bimi so'ge qulul dei uja re qakra,  
boli qakra kōla-oi aka re qakra, ake ke ebel dud kuasbi, ke ebel amar  
jiana dekba ? boli kata oħa' bu a bu i gadla pōtar ani gala qakra se pōtar  
man ari tōle gole oħa' dela se pilake julai dela tar upre gōe pōtar qub  
dei kari gore uti alai

se pila le-re le-re oi kāda kale kōdiani sāj oi galani se pilar kādabai  
sani bag gole-kana kōdiani boli se bade dire suni suni kōri gāa se bag  
māne bicar kala-o o kar nār pilake qulul dela nai bōm sāgge mu. aka kale  
pe, pure nai k. dāte atle nai pap laji jani ar kākī pap bōibi bo i mēne pācla  
-mai kōrake qasbi bōi kōrake qakla se kōira jōri dāni gala na, kōira,  
e nār pōrke tui dud kuasbi kōira kōila-mui dud kuasbi sōna, ake qōđi  
sunbake kēmti kōrbi mu

-nai mōjur ke qakbi se qōđi sōni boli bag bicar kila se bag mōjur ke qakı  
anla-tame dui lok oi kōri, kōira rani dud kuasbi tui qōđi, sōsu'noile tamke  
tui kai, sa agbi se kōira dud kuasbi, mōjur qō-đi sunla

semā rōu rōu mase k. dui mas oħa benen raja bu a bu ibe, oħa se pilake  
pilake ate pade kōri ruđat bu a bu i sarda oi kōri bōi acari kōri neta jai  
bōni pakane qal capor oi basa odus se raja pilake sat mēda a, de, kō ma  
tane pati, tōpulu qakra kōle dārlake qakra ret rōgi, kōri pati gadōla-dōkri  
kōla-kai a kuas be qakra ? mu pe, cōkbi tui kōila kō an jibire qakra.

đakra bar! galaje gore baria pila paka! ace se barake dari pakala.  
baria kaka-kaka raja mapru tui, kaka lo akedarius tui? nai mor tane gore po  
gore janam o ta je ta. make dud de nai tui dink, dud ani de sa se baria koi-  
ani debi đakra te ani bar aila baile go e ka ra be oia kene jai raka boli,  
kakađe đakra ka u toke se kojim mor tane po gore janam o aoe dud  
de sa. ka ra kaka-ani debi se janam oia je saba bol oia po babu boli  
kua kua oi bari aila

se kaka dea, se pake kole sara dari je dud kumla se baria ka di  
ane dud dari koi aila kaka ke kaka-tui kene ja na mu ar kene  
jui? ba o ba jak rajbi se pola be-ja a gale tar nas deai dea raja  
boli jak dea dora mav muke dora be bidbake park po ana gom raja  
tui ja benen wapeke yaki ana boli pak ke pakala se park sakale ai koi  
baria pakane goa benen raja gore se pak kaka-nai babu raja mapru  
pakalan tke benen raja bu a kaka kai pa babu? der der laglan park  
kaka nai babu dora ukum oia ke jak an boli kaka bar ju sara koi  
u ana tu e ka sa? nai se pak-ke hatwa pa ek dela sag gal dela,  
pak, tabla dea ana dea-ne babu se gae nerid ka je uo je ja se park  
dari koi gale rad bu kaka, kaka ar gore gale ja be babu, tar par tui  
abake saj ana bea bel ja se benen bu a tar pata-ju babu boli ba, oia!

raja gore jau kaka benen raja bu a se gom raja ke jai juar kaka—  
kapa đakra kolus raja mapru? nai o, dora ukum oi aila dora  
bet bidbake aisu tui se cecapani dari aisu—kai kaka babu? moke  
kaidela na mu janam gom raja kaka toke ana na, kure bu a? borađe  
tui bidwa tke kai debar ki? o mapru tui janam ana oia naje moke  
kemi ana rai? se raja kaka tui bori puja kaka, set car patal kumja,  
kakađe dud mau pauri rai du daka dari ana kaidela se benen raja  
bu a juar kaka ar mu capri kae gore ati aila semu pinas baidela  
se pa dea koi se pila kaka kua oia babu? nam capri abadula? ?  
nai babo raja kaka je seta—mam milol ki? na milbata kase seta  
masiki? an ao pey ka kaka kaidela je tumam capri otus? mu aci,  
toke kai jar? ao ki gor naka je te mu deka dehi toke kai jar?  
nai babu, set car bori puja koloj, patal kumja kua gar dud mau  
pauri rai dui daka dari koi ana dora ana bel bidu tui boli  
ka, dela ace kemi masi babo? tui kai jar, mu aci, ka je ju dala keri.  
saba, kaka, agya dar je ju, mu deka dehi

se đakra pam gadola, đakra ke pey magi kaka ar bar odai jala jala  
cogi galani se ba ni bangau e kaka bid maru boli kai deani se đakra  
ba ni bangau kaka mara patal kumja kula etex ro ta pce ana boli  
kaka pua gore ui aila erki mlla che diata ace mu abake pey pam  
kai se rai rai sakai palake pey kai kar bar odai daka oreadar ai ari  
gala kua gake se rai mu đakra se đak sara palai aila ni đabek gu  
dena raja gore nei dehađe deia tui che eka dehar naje toke bol na koi  
boli raja pila kaka-ame mau palnae jui tui dape an deia gore an  
deia, ame e bai na ana mau rai đabek dari aibudut ba po oi bar  
galai mau palnae rai maeke raja pila đakra rai mae mada tane uni  
bar oi gale kai pa mapru dakus tui?—tui đabek cikan deia raja gore  
nei dehađe đabek bue dehi, cari daka bole msa dehi—nei deo babu  
saba jama koi bu ake kaka se pila etki babu ki an ace  
ta nai ka kenta raja ace ale mu deka ai nai babu mu msa ari deka  
pura moke bause kađa, bause pa koi deia kai kaka se tui BoBo?  
nai babu mu kela bi bta kakađe bura kaka dela ede baba, kel be tui!

mui conek ne bel' badi a hitu, ma songe keli kel' rōma dape uti ashe-  
nui babu, mui musa dekle para sub conek na babu, raja dekle bal na  
kare seja war po bali akar kare, mui desi na, mui ari aka tor pace poce  
rōbi ar ja tebe dekle para ale dōkra go e lok ke unu a kas, mebake se  
pila suda pari dari bōra tar babu ari e a moy dar nua babu ra, babu  
keli kel' dari rōbi sūlok o bu ota rōbi gōre keli kō ale utra bol kōi  
dela raja gōrōr parik jai sōdōta beben' dja ari sōc raja kōla ja sūgāsane  
hoi anal, dekhur ovi karpai sōt' bōi acot' dāc anu

poce si gāsane nei utri dela dja har unu bu a dui at jami kōi jaar  
kōrhake se pila gō uo gu war kōla se rōja sei gōle ke bōi kōla kop  
oigala toke mōr mōr kōi uo de pak' g dja gō, jek mōke jaar kōi e mōr  
se mar kōi delāna se dōkra kōra na bebu pila kō janc nai mōr na  
mōr po eja se mōr e mōr gō e a dōc kōra? bōi gō uo rōja sōrōr lok  
har oti mōr mōr mōr hōi uo e o gōla rōpoce se rōja mui kōi oigala  
sōt' je saub' hū a hūi tākōr pete dōm e i kōra dū dū kōra, mōjor  
oigala beben' dōkra dōc pila, mui gōc mōle kōle e i dja bōi  
subana kōi rōja pila bōrōr lō uo hōi sōr oika pōra bulā sōnke mōr  
paka a sōhuke sakal ne jūm rōp mōke kōi mōr nei dōm gō sōbu  
sarai kōi bōi pila dū a mōi pōhōe ra, uo lōga, purt jak kōi o ike  
dōm gō kōi kōi mōi nēla sōbu sarai oipure jai bōi o lō cōgus beben'  
roja dōrōke bel' badi ace

## III

## BIMA RAJA

rani dōdōmoe odi tar bōm bangala bōndā rān-se bal poce kutu malae  
un bar o go ai cogi kōi bangala sōrōbi bel' sōrōbi hāe uni jai jai bangala  
gūasima bōi kōra gōrōr lok kōte rōla kōm gōi eia babu? bōi pacula? nai,  
eia gūasima kōra gōrōr lok acot' kōra gōrōr lok ke kōi lō a? nai, amor  
bōndā o bōi amor bōndā to kebe nai sōbu mōra, gāla, na nje tomōr jūa  
ebi? nai, amke jana toke kōm dōse uni ar acus kōm dōs nōy amor ari dadi nai  
puri mōsa kōnd ne uni mōr gāsi ebe toke kōm acus? nai, amor babu,  
na kō acot' se kōba bōy mui mui nai mōke jūa nai tar ja kōm jūa ja, gūli  
pōtōr na kōrhake rōja rōja eia se gōrōr gūli gōrōr gāla tē ja bōa kōi? nai babu,  
kōndē jan dū? se go ake dūare bōndi dela, pōndā jai bōla se mōi pāpūna  
dela? at got dela bōla? kene gāsi tomōr gōrōr lok? na, kōrhak gāla sōt' amo  
sāra, amōr mōm mui sōbu jai acot' kōrhak, conek bōa babu aile kai kōtōke  
asi acus ke nai, mui jai, dū dū para rō bi je j bi, gōle lō ake ari acō aile rō-bōi se  
mōi kōla poce pāpūna debeke, 'pō ek caul bōa, ka je rō' nai tomōr lok acot',  
aile katabarā o rōbi

poce kōrhak lok-sila se dōkra aila, tar po aila, dōmōmōn sōbu o i sila eia  
kōm gōrōr ta? mōi kōla-kai kōa kōe nai e mōr o bōu acot' bōsōrō? take  
pō ek caul dōer nai je aya? nai mama, dēl je nōc mui rō kai pō rōdi bōi  
kōla? take dēl na amē kōm? kō bu? nok, tablamōn mōmōi kōi dūa pāpūna  
nai nēla mui kōkōr kōi kōi, ar kōkōr kōi bōi mama? bōi bōi kōla se rāi?  
oila lōi gōle dū bōla rōja dēlake oēlā sōdōla

sakal parāse rōjōpila uti gāre jai pāni kany gadōla asi pūnā, bōla? kene  
jai, rōbōs babu? nai pāni gadōbar ja sōla tōkōpila tōpōr diot nai je tui karpai  
sakal uni jai kōkōr pāni gadōr aīua amor gōre kai lok na? nai mui jai gadōti,



'nat' uni buke acas ebe ale jolek mayi debu bosu ka, ja re jokipin nokitaba mayi  
 ani daas'nat moke seta arka kora mul'nat amke basat lagu'nat, moke bisas lagi  
 sira tumke nat tome to debu boli kofas ar min no kai ki?

pode kora doket kar be sa ja re se ge ai cog'as kora ka gore basa kora ace  
 deki kor, no tar po-ke pa aila se ja dekla kene ailus' nat, tomor gore bulbar se  
 aif ene tone dekla a ja bosu ace pote ar dape u i gale na baha pinjai bos ace,  
 taake fati a u oca debake ke e alond songe basat acot' galpo, amke ,nat' hoi  
 karbar tabe' gura yokrake pa, faki angua dokrake faka paceria-ake kapa  
 songalus, se galpo pa-deuke' se a amke tor ji-ke de pusbor bonda bol ka la'  
 kapa songas acas' deka, sengaile gao-ke san' an' babu re, got boli kor aila-  
 bok-ke ame ka pa kedibu, ro ketedim, ay reus kah reus ari bari, jasi kon desor  
 lok k, tar gao na nio nat ta ke ame ka bolikeri kedibu, tome as, mandar  
 kor keda sira ame na ,aru kaita to mäge nat kake dar pika kore nat, ta ke  
 kapa marbu

rejar la aila sunia se risa ogula roja kora ja o take faki ann'elok sobu esa  
 fan dari a lai gudgudu asikari gote ca, re se e jarilake maris/mui kar dos kari  
 aci-moke kapa marhusa pace jargo ai cogla suberna kala'benin roja jani  
 lina mui nomon kari re bi bole mor boma gale b'et, mui aif bodes mor mama  
 satra acot bolikor mator dek , somul gena-bol hamsor kanda dari, poi darla,  
 mora enetene bula a ekabele molka kora to mui dela se gao jak gila k k, ene  
 mar tene mar, sobuke sakak dela se kora giror pake gotas ogula, gotek pa apt-  
 lake gotek karapunketa deket ledhad palala an ja gote bonda gale pan  
 karbar bol go ake tebulu jayrike utulu jani kula cacek bolar ari burigala  
 jani jaa bima raja gore bari gulas se ana ogulas ei rou ana koragerek k ke sabu  
 bila debi, selane gotek k no reile bol nat gi'agorer gote toki ace, koragorer gotek  
 pile ace se dari pilatoki te gor bidu rest foker jete j oisi se'a ame gaje bolai  
 nei bibu kora

gote gote bera pari jejeji dari se bura bima raja koma an' bol denger  
 par basai tas ben aila kora pakasi se o dek ners. normon-ke odadeis

## IV

## Kulom-Eleas-Kata

[Story of the Parenga ancestry-Balaram Mudli Semla, Nandapur]

purbe puni dari bari boma rale semti puni rote roilai jite pilai ka te roilai/  
 jite kate ro le puni ke lok nat kogo e nar-co ei nat ki etan nat ki-gotek kulom  
 kal boli gotek rala pun siti se kulom kate aka barboni pun, rogala se barboni  
 gor darla puni pala ola puni j lai semon-ke dari andela, tokor jman-ke  
 pun juake deia rogala puni taake bandu nat k, bandeb na gotek kulom bos  
 boli rogala semti

pode pun nar, ote ma po oia, etama j oia, kenti ale gote bondu kora  
 pun-selok se dari barboni puni bhar kala ei tebe kenti ale kora deku gote kai  
 at dan ki matak abake puni sol-bolod go ek pun bari aila agni dine para  
 entan ugot oe na, kara n'oke puni ajal n'oy puni sob adar adar'ane se rogala -  
 kulom kal bole kulom kal kate se rogala ta ke kara ale cekar uti nri, pari  
 mara ot na, puni seotar jame rogala sol-bolod go e dan inji jani rola  
 e dekla-oho, etamon kora lokomon' ita akas bakas bone, suripen na, nat, semti  
 okori acot nat, ake kon ale gote adama kora deku naki se bulara

'tome kon deser lok asi .ti puni acas?'

nas, nai, babu-sa to deku boile saj bolod! tu keneuni aus ki na ajike sae pae ki kemot o gila amor ma nas k. bapa na, ane bai bo ni gondam darla ar to luma .ti, roigale aka na. soka nai, ma nas k. bapa nai, semti okor acu popu etek acot' konti ale bandubandeb kori. bol kori amor aamo, kori e a korbar boli ame becar kori acu 'ro ho, ma kor debu tomke bandubandeb' bolis pun se dan i puni'e aka kora. bo ' e to hula. exom be, boli ai sange tene ja-boli pelai delu pelai debako- ' ra, ra, emti se tome roise ana bulkul kai se no ase' boli soy xoda se dang ke munus puni, kaila-oho, kargu tu, pelai delu ' e goje kon debu sa ke aila ac-boli. kori take ja. baabingy kori koiake se sad-bolod aka puni u,ol kola tum. bel surj oia puni oia, puni-semti okori dape bel oia, dape jon oia semti okor ruti ale kor udu puni d hia u le bel ude/ semti okori ro la se asa surj bol kori amor kora hosa bol kori roila puni se go ak 'nas nai 'r sange se maror kora, etek ji acot tar ji-ke ame ana, amor ji e take deu-semti kor ju kaa bolikor selok becar kola, tebu se sad-bolod ke puni jai kori koiak-nai, tui karg ni mon duk ki ru, tor ji e ame abbu, amor ji je tome ni 'nas, tomor nao kai nan bolai oia ?'

'nas ame k rsan. bola debu, tome je kora bolai dia' se ku lomkalor lok kadai elok kora bolai, se ku lomka. elok k rsan bolai oia, ji. boma ke kora goror lok-ke delai kora goror ji. boma puni kulom gore delai semti okor .ti te kate roila

kon kon goje kargbar lok karbar lok asi puni konti padek buma, koni goje soria ki golek moru, ki golek taka k' kebe a na emti. dei de soria mor a darla puni te: ga golek puni ogala se kulom goror puni. ko bi che, k rsan mon amor tola pars oia, e a kemti kora? na., che kangu ar-take taker ji. bo ni rooti amor amke se root ha. boli oia deu puni ka lom-mon krsan mon bai bolaboli oia,

## V

### ORINGI

(H story of a Didey. village in Kudmurguma, Dabek Pujan)

purbe amor qideyimon janawa. roila seti se qideyimon aka roila tektor pake dua a po roila ar na soka poa, monia po itake pake roila. semon po ro baka seti take oshula eia seti u kaje se kol gas kairake a mal upre nqi inq. oringir ba aila age bura kila kudmurguma-puni pae, kol gas soka kisan kori sobud ne us janawa qideyimon dake as as ked abbu

semti kora kora somon oringike paja andi bo kor gular gir lok ga ca. bama le gangapafa qideyimon oringi roila seti as kori tektor sange nys biri kamdari kori kate ro le gangapa a qonnyamon-se kamdari korba ke .ti ba a una ebake emon ke kila-babu, tome amor gabe as amke ba asa a risa bol kori m le naremon kaja k-ka elu tebe? pa k raat as le tola beda ele ame missa debu kasa bitar kori. debu, batia satia debu semti paktat aile missa semti ba ai b ra dent. ro a janawa qideyimon gole d n mone paktat ame kemti. kori iti ro baka oia, amke emon kedba. boli mone paktat/

Pa k raat aile janawa qideyimon olop olop oia. kata kori kori paktat sange katabaria oia. gangapafiyamon oia kata boli kori no jaula/mon kaku a dan caul paktat ke debar se caul janawa qideyimon mgi songe takor

ator sea caul, musa mūs paik-ke debar ar kober-babo, gangapa iyamō sea  
caul, musa mūs tomke delai, ame tor pāi dan caul kaku a kori delun-ēa kentar  
kole ori babu ?

semt keri keri gangapa umōn jan-dela'ame paik-ke debar dan caul  
kukuta sangt de tiker sea caul musa mūs dei amke n'ndi kolam'-bol gāi lok  
kalabarta olat gar lok kōlak-emon kee gile un, ked' paku emōn robe emri  
kor amke konjek ake betaku a no mīle dūz gāi lok mīr bīcar kolai babu,  
tome amor gīke no rua tome roke amke betu dūz kolam, tome n. rove doni  
beti dari kor h'ndi jaku bu pus pakai bu bōi kori kedā kedbake semon musa  
doni kōnd dar bar i la, tiker bōi jōkra muladar pama golek rila-se pke sobu  
jud mar bendah ndi kor ake kete lok mōngalai'ēbe sūwari lok se bōi lok-ke  
dari kanda songe paji delai debake tar manj kanda ke cab manj kindi tar gore  
barigala se manj jai kōn tiker mādake kōle-tōne tāōkor songe no paras semon  
amke mar dar kori utrala, ajru n' tiker songe darudar mamari no kor-tome  
seti ca dei dōngor bai ja seti ame kam kōle betaku a bunabun kale amke kale  
kalo arudad kale natupit kale kalbar oron pindhar bama mīli-tāōkon songe jud  
korani-ajir un amor gangapa n. se be aku ake kōle, aji cati arudadi kale jēbe  
kam kole ame bas bu i jae-boli porman kole

sedan jame am gangapa-iyamō seti ca i dei dōngor bai ja dōngor man  
jūli kailai'ēbe jake se be aku a semon pormanke dōri kori kaila kata kōi no  
paria semon masad bōdi kor ēbe bas-kum ut kori jilam sedan jame un orangi  
pāo el.

## VI

## The Story of the Origin of the Bhatras

Jankiram raja gole rela se deske tas karba-kaje bion māgbake gala kober  
gore tasanon kober gore run māgbake galai kober bol-la ki jaman anle run debi  
roke r'ake run debina. tui mōr dōi-ke seji parus nai raja- 'kake jaman anbi',  
'kober- cōndor surajke anle mui run debi r'ya cōndor surajke kala'car jati  
komira-moke run māgi das mui seman-ke debi cōndor sura jai tū oibke  
run dele bhatra penga porja, andua dōm. bal-e lok ke raja bion māg dela'  
'tome raja gore dūn munj pōale tome sūtu das'ā bol-le, am tas kala.

sūtu ana bolbake tū tū kari kari gore puras delai, bund bundke kari  
kari rojagor gadia jame bōi delai rajake dūi boros ogala kuber run māgbake  
ala cōndor surajke dari pakala rot dele id raja i rot bol kari bōle raja mōla  
raja rot upre bes dūki kala sorog pame dōnda bion utralai rotke dela bion  
boli kari.

rotke sūtu ana bol kōtai tū up rojagor gadia bōi delai, bad badke  
gore kaila ajgōru cōndor surajke gōron lūgai run ca tar nai segni raja akmon-  
ke sūborna pōi anla cari lok ke delai'ē bion bura, poroke mōke sūtu das  
raja gole nū-musa lagana jame pesidela se sob mōj kaidela bion o'ra nari  
gadbōi nōd tū anumanke bion delai anuman car kumja para jagia ace  
boros gole ogala sūtu banda-rojabol-la rotke raja dari rakalake kōrti ace  
kikaru nai 'gadhōr nōd tōle ace se biksi ki nai ?' nū, bōki rot sob gala  
nūi genbakaje anuman bol la ki 'gote bai kikaru gole bai suna etki bujōnti mui  
kōkōra debi suna rōkbi ro'mon dan manjia biki sobu nēi take deidela rot  
sōtu karba kaje pē, nai raja amke dōnd dela' ame pōsi r'bu' bōi kori bari pōle  
rajar des .anu rati, asu-ho'pōd, noborānpur bingama-e un des bīre an  
rojalai bai agtu ela, tar pōce dōm, tū pōce poria, tar pōce bōra ea

## SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND RITES

## MARRIAGE

## 1 Marriage arranged by parent through negotiation

agtu ma babu mod pita dari jibu got boli kabu samsi gare pita debu,  
mod rakas debu se garar samsi kais-aji pula mod anlas, kai lo a ace samsi?  
na babu got aka aslu se samsi kela - kua babu kua, kai luca ganya kabas  
da dari is: kasake kai gar<sup>2</sup>-nas babu, tamar ba-e pul gotek puli ace se pulor  
pa nlu kai bolu<sup>2</sup> tamke pul gae ro, amke pul ta lo-a<sup>1</sup> pul lo a to buta ke  
kai pa neba<sup>2</sup> as babu, tamar pul ta, jul ke ke nai boli kabuki<sup>2</sup> ke ale prodaba?  
tamam kai boli kabu!

se rati kati barta olat, pej pari kaiti sakal palake ba i bel pej pari kari  
delai nua samsike pari tepas delai kuku-a potai delai dui bu-a bu i ke pari  
duala rade ba a kaiti ari mod kasek ani delai kua pia kaiti ari dui bu-a buti  
bati po lai jibu be babu boli, juar bel oi bar olat

gere as dui dir gulake rai barta darlas tanke mod cari kac, solap da tama  
dari bi as sula daras palalai, jo-a palalai se dui lok tam pari ar belai bar olat  
logor gao bo-a bele har olat se bu a bu i disariki pacurhar galai aka caul  
daras galai se d sari akot deki kailu-nai babu, toki pilar jugai bati-as babu disari  
tai aka babu kari debu -nai babu, basak mase biba olat, mus gilai debu ai babu,  
tor aka puc kake ne daru ame sarbena sukruhar dine kada adi olat mangolbar  
soje anbar olat komu-boli kaidela

se sarbata aila boli kua kua olat se rati se gnor ba san ke fak: an mod  
aur kulas e a po a kata olat<sup>1</sup> kati ci as mod anle kaidebu, ebe kai na paru  
boli kai delai se rati rila sakal palake u'i alai/asi kari se buta bu i ke kaidela  
kati ci an anle ci an debu boli kaidela ebe gale ci-i jati be

se fakra fakra kati debake nait babuke kaiti-kata deba eis babu, kudo  
konda jomale sira eis no kele ari magi rait dui pari dan ku ai raitu babu boli  
kata olat nait singe budas d n ulake se gotar lok kitali asz babu dawgwa ma  
babu, dan kati debake asa se ma i mon kati anbahe galai ke das man ke putek  
kati delai jone se mon ari delai cam sibu ne raita an de pakasas se caul napi  
napi kari songe dela ari gote din daru marbake bolai se dmo daru man an  
dela daru magi kari ku ai dela, ari go e din potoke kaiti se potar ani dia boli  
kaidela pe i laka ki tin pe lal as ari dela ari gote din cam-nja kada sel  
maralai disari gere gala, api au tebe kati a fak anbahe bolodisari kati

galai gnor dait a dau i celi caul dari kari galai putek caul, gotek celi dari  
so, onka, gi, juga, cacapet dari galai dari a dau i mon gi nai oi galai, se komu  
gau galai soje galai, jai kari cacapeti bine wonges delai se gau dari mon ulike  
lucal delai sakal palake caul napake bosai caul napi delai, guluga delai, sag dal  
dela, ee ike dokla: ee i nait dau i mon lucal dei acat semu ke fakua dei celi ke  
anla, se gnor ba san ci a po a o boi mad, kai jemsa kel-sudat a dan i bokra  
bokri ci se rat, sai sarda o rai ai kuku a wake komake bar k-ras dela/baja band  
kari se komu-ba, w/ok bor-betar lok bi i kari komake mo galai/bajo ne kari  
teja, kari dui sor bat boli kasake se kaiti rai galai/dui sor bat an delai/

se koiare kas din jak pomas kel-lan' dan i man goru d'ah belike gau manjarab  
bel oia bate go e kuku a pupu baru kori d'sari gau manjarab dip tolu beie g're  
manjarab ma se ratu boyi kas poma kel-la.

sakal par galake boy konake mukut bap-lu logor bulabul pome kada d'at  
kel-lan' kada d'at sarai bor jeli ga e bula-bake netai das a das i man bokari  
bulai asai boy bai kas pomas kel g maramari ka la kutum boy poma asrai  
debu, war be asai par ba e taru jharat'a din gale jibau m'piba das a d'awri  
songe as gote teki m'asa der tun lok as papai'as pira saul mod etek dara pataibai  
se lok se das i ma babu g're jibai sari nac din ma asai uia aibai asu kori parli  
kabe kori kaibai, ji-bai/

## 2. Love-marrings b) Elopement with 'tithu

Daw a das i dulok babu m'otir b'adai das a dan sutra sutra w'ol po a d're  
kata barta at mata m'otir a' nolas kebke, w'oli kuker a' n'ole porib d're dai  
lok m'otir k'or uolia u' g'mat kor ak g'au m'otir galase das i ma babu kojbar  
ame' i kene gala kal rat bar a' u' i' sutra d'aw' e' u' yate nas kon lek netai a kon  
das a netai a' u' k' p' ak' g'au m'otir a' u' a' d'or na b'or se kas ko em k'or kop  
napari r'ogalai pome k'obu par ja a' an'bu'e gala ma babu ke dek k'or se  
das a das i' u' d'elaz'epa be napa a' da babu p'ura se a' n' d'elaz'epa, r'olaz'  
se das a' ma babu w'akbake galase be abot k'or yaki am'otir g're an' b'ol jog  
d'ariko p'asari u'ga o a' la pome das i ma babu sutra w'ol galase jik an' b'ol  
d'ur tin lok u'at a' galase se k'ina g're g'au se k'ina netai g're k'or k'or ak'or l'ucal  
delaz'epa k'or ma babu se g'or n'ak g're g'au selok n'ak ke k'oraz' am'e' tokike  
babu kas g're am'otir a' babu ko d'a n' d'iki netai a' netai a' e' s' i' take dek ale  
j'ib' n'ak ka la na babu mu d'ek na kebe nara ale' n' babu a' po a' d're ke  
netai a' ale' take dek k'or u' a' u' a' u' k' p' be m'ap' k'or i' i' k'or k'or k'or l'ucal  
ame' i' k'or d'ur l'ucal bus' i' netai kas sog'eta d'uraz' n' se m' d'ur d'ur k'or ale  
k'or e' s' i' s'ete w'it ale k'or galase netai a' e' se n' a' k'oraz' nas babu ma k'or k'or a'ibai  
tome ka j'ib' k'or a' s' i' m'otir w'ol bus' tin ke k'or b' d'adi a' na nas babu c'ma k'or  
nole k'or a' s' i' s'ete j'ib' na' babu k'or a' e' ale am'e' k'or d'ur j'ib' pomas, am'e' ma  
babu asai a' u' k'or k'or ale k'or d'ur

se n'ak gala se g're p'asari nas babu am'e' am' nas k'or d'ur a' ale d'ek  
nas kas galase l'ucal a' se ma babu u' i' parli r'olaz' b'or w'ol a' u' k'or a' la nas  
k'or se g're am'otir k'oraz' se g're lok k'or a' na babu am'e' se d'ek a' k'or k'or  
k'or babu m'otir ma bu b'or m'ara e' d'ur l'ucal a' l'abai a' u' k'or a' u' k'or a' u' k'or  
n'ak n' a' a' k'or se n' k'or a' u' a' u' nas babu t'ime s'ete a' u' k'or a' u' k'or a' u' k'or  
m'asa n' d'ur k'or nas n' am'e' k'or a' a' k'or a' u' k'or a' u' k'or a' u' k'or a' u' k'or  
b'or m'otir g're k'or a' k'or b'ol n'ak k'or a' nas babu na na b'or m'asa nas kop  
ole b'or g're se ma babu n' d'ur b'or a' m' d'ur d'ur d'ur y'akra g'au ke ka b'or  
delaz'epa m'otir ka b'or n'ak se m'otir galase w'ol galase k'or i' ka b'or k'or m'otir  
b'or m'otir galase b'or a' d'ur m'asa na n' se lok a' k'or b'or g'or b'or bul la n' se  
se g'ale b'or a' m'otir nas m'otir b'or galase

se das i' bar o' la k'or k'or a' a' babu k'or k'or m'otir m'otir k'or a' a' k'or  
m'otir a' k'or m'otir a' k'or k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or  
k'or m'otir a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or  
t'ur am'e' k'or k'or galase ka o' la s'et s'et k'or m'otir d'ur k'or a' k'or a' k'or a' k'or  
d'ek a' se ratu ratu a' k'or a' u' galase se das i' ke j'ik an' netai g're m'otir k'or d'ur  
bar k'or m'otir a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or a' a' k'or

se m'otir galase das i' p'odae b'or nas se das i' m'otir p'odae gala b'or k'or k'or  
ke m'otir galase se lok ka d'ur m'otir g'ale m'otir p'odae bar k'or m'otir m'otir  
galase das i' se k'or m'otir k'or g'or j'ul d'ur d'ur, am'e' m'otir g'ale e' g'or d'ur m'otir

kassa / nani, tu se budi pãe nai bol oi ro ja mor kãta sun tu, se dan i kãta  
 mu take aka j bi dõkr, kãta- nai re ðokra lok, kãtan take aka jibi boli se  
 ðokra jã dan i ke dui capã, marã se dan i baroi paluã pã se paluã gole  
 bime gũ se dan i ke kãbor dala se dan i kãbor sun kor dõba, gãla ko ace ?  
 nai cil-pu-e dõra gõre uã beg ju, dan i so bol kãta

se danã sun kori jã se gõre bõla para oia danã dan i ke dala kon  
 gũ-ũni bai ? nani ada je gõr do je bõr boli ak, marã mar oia se dan i kãta  
 joi kãnde de apa iku po ai kãr, bi be mu kon gũ-ũni je bai ? kãta ba i-  
 ulti apa gũ gole dũe na ke kãjãni dan i kãta rã gãla para o je se bũe rã  
 am gũe uãr ? mu ke ebel sũm oie mu i bi danã u gãla

soj olake se dan i bõda jibi bol gãla ar se bai uã gãla dan i ane ter dai  
 lok bi kãr rãti ke rãte uã gũis e gõr lok kãne gãla boli kãjãni e r eie sei  
 dan i aka so rãta se aka nãl cãm a o rãu be sakãl pã le se gõre jã kãr dei  
 se ai ro lai uri sakãl pã lake se gõre jã aõ deã se kãbor sun se ðok a gãle jã  
 boli mör oia tar mu so ðekã kãta gãkã go e bõrs eba ke kãr dala ar kãta  
 gũu bũe kãre na n mũm kãna oi pã lam gãkã ðokãr jã, at pãda na /

### 3 Love-marrige by Seduction 'sogorta bõla'

manj mũnũke mũn rã le se ma i ar go, e manũ kũj se dan i dan i kũj  
 se dan i sãr dari se manj ke sutra dũ bol kũ sutra ke gũe kũs deã se  
 sutra dei dan i ke kãle dan i mũm jãne nã nai uãdã paluã dũe ber oia  
 boli kã la ace rã bũr dũe ta dũ kũ i uã rãda mu yãkãr nã nã mör jãne  
 ðekã oi jã se kãnti rã se ? pãn gũ oi bator am gõre rãda sũu, soie se se  
 dan i har oia oia oi har oia tad a uã nu mu ðak an deie oi m dũ  
 sun-kũakõl oi bari gũla /

se dan i mũd gũ kori ar go e lok sãr dari a la se sutra ane take mod dala  
 se kãla gõre uãr nã mu yãk deie e ba ar jã se mu i ke kã deie se dan i  
 tar mũnũ ke sutra sutra ke pã pun deã dan i bõkr ke e dala ke bũdã  
 dala sũu ke de kũr se dan i kã la anj pãr dũla sũu se lake gũpãta mõi  
 bũdã sutra ba gõre gũr se jã rãda dan i ke yãk ne ke a de mod kãr uã  
 aila gõre se dan i dan i uã gõre kã oi tin lok oi bari gũla

sãtr sãtr tar mũnũ uã kori kor bõda kãne gãla kãne na ? kãke uã gãla ?  
 tu pãke soi rãta toke jãna nai kã ? kãkãr ðake u oi gũl gũl lok sakãl pã-  
 la se mũnũ gũ gũ kũ bõla se gũr lok mũn kãta kũjũ n bõl kãda /  
 kãta nai boli kãta kãnti be eie na gõre uã aila

dũ dũ gũake kãbor pãla bõdã pũr gũ gõre gũla ace boli kãbor  
 mũnũ take kãpã jã anũ ? gãle gãle gũ e gãle be kãta bol nai se kãna  
 jã anũ sũdũr ke pũdũr ke rã de se gũr lok ke bõ nan-ke ðũkãr kãta oi la /  
 na kãla-kãl ke jã a jãr dũl lok jã kã asor por dũe aũb bõl kãna  
 sogorta kũu tu bõ pũna lok tar gõre dũ uãl oia anũr gõre nai ðãr  
 kãla boli kãna jã a jã mũn ter jã sũm kãla, ari uã aila

põce bol asar kãta oi boli anũr bõla gũd mũdru kãra, aũl kũr boli  
 nãk kãla se gõr lok gũd mũdru sag ðãl kãla a pãr lok, dũ tin lok  
 kãna aũl gũl mũdru bõ bõke eie lok oi sogorta pũbũke bar oia  
 se gũr ke lai / jã kũr pũr bũe oia se gũr lok ðekã kori aila, sogorta  
 gũbũr aũl boli se gũr nãk ke kãla, se nãk kãla tũm aũra oi rã, se  
 lok ðakã aũa ni / tũdã uã nai mör loge aũa aila kãta mu

sogorta-gemu-mon arko dune naik gore galai naik ke koi-asu naik babu.  
ame asi dai din oia, tome deka oia na seie gor-b oia kaja barta o ci ai kori  
ame aij bu naik koi-asu-tome ja rua babu, ebe aibu muu na jaia babu, muu gao  
ja rosi / mu co ai aiaai boli na jaia kebe aiaai moke kua paca nai ? tome ja  
rua, muu aib

paca na x calan barik boi-lok mon oi bar oi aiaai aaai jaar be oskori bosai  
naik koi-asu suna jaia na. e cor paia kebe oia muke na jaia ale babu kai  
kaja ale kua koi deka se lok koi-asu-tomor gao ai ace kaja pa ame aiaai kai  
muke mania ki nai se kaja bujake aa. aa /

oi babu, se gar mol ketek oia kua gar mol no jakle komi oia ? suai  
deka

-kor-b babu, suna bar koi mo, oia bar ko : noile no daru oi babu,  
gar mol ko deka gar mol deka, ai aa ame ar lumbu ki ? ale babu, gar mol  
ete moe, akia kaja kua / bar ko i boli koi-asu, co kori deka.

-nai, co ko i no daru ame koi-b egar koi deka k ? noile ui jibu semu  
man ji genoi e ka genoi nele oi bolad genbu bol koi-asu oi ki ?

se gior naik jaia ko jak, ai ei deka oi ko, aka dar ci, gaja boli ka  
dela cel-goreni man kor edo kuka a gite bar po cal man deka gite ame  
rudi kor a. gior lok be kori satar masai sora masai boli kaja satar be  
boli gite aka deka muaja aka boli deka ga cira a oia bol se gite, aka deka  
ar jud be oi a i ki te-uni tar mu babu gore daru dan galai kaja. j-lai /

#### Birth Rites

maji pila gado le sutran bu i gae rai, pila jomom o le sutran bu i bomli  
kaja. bomli-kakua saia ne tepideba se maji bomli ci la jak gore kome ro  
jibu bomli ei gite satar sara hai gor dar lipa paca kori luga paia a ja pota  
oiba. se maji ma babu aibu / bonda ba, tar luga luga lok a ba / cal  
sag dar aibu se disari suta potar kor rove disar ke fak aiba, disari kor  
dai se gor lok kua deba kuka a cira kuka a kaja kuka a, bimbai  
kuka a, bud-ban kuka a, kadabai, kuka a, pati badan kukua, cira cel,  
sai bion pul a mea ga kadi dadi kaja guny, rove guny, dob guny,  
cira sira etek paja korba bomli kaja disar kora disar ke paia lipa  
deba paia gado se disar ke mu paca golek pindubai se disari kale lipa  
paca kori dele te bina leki bira kora pulake se maji kaja boma adrena deka  
disar satarbar, paja sara disari mod kai uti jua /

Se paia sutran bu ke paia utrai deka se fak paia gadois na  
laga oia se gore da man cal rada ba a korba bina ai car man cal  
radai rada ba a sar se paia ma, bonki, fakri oi gae jibu komu  
utrai bar kala ma kaja gajul, kaja satar, akot cal dupu kaja kuka a  
jim gore dari, ba gore ja bal, rufai kumb kori saia komu utra dei  
bar aiba. gore rada ba a sari got a ba, ba ek fakri se paia maia oi  
tim lok kacek mod, daru katek, potar penjek dari kuka a gite dari senke  
jaiba ar got aiaai boli kor kaja aiba kaja tan deka baia boli kaja  
se gore rada lok kan gajul kaja paia kaja deka tan dia-boli kaja  
/ kai gotar lok tome bol, kile se lok koi-asu nai, ame nagpurar lok  
ar aa tebe boli fak neba gore / daru sanga deka / kusa pota kai kaja  
kor rada baka kori beja pakanba / se bomli kale be, paka ba / an baia saia  
korba se aibu kujum boma kai sara soj bele aka deka tlar porba /

am dal, dub gas, muti; bu si muti upre dipatra songdebaui / tar beba  
 agtu nika dele poce tar ma babu nika debu. gorke gore lok asi nika dei konjek  
 laba bat kai jibai je aile tikr dei bat dele ka jibai abbu nika dei sarile  
 darsi nua deisi mangal bar dine jumar eake monla boli nau debai / se  
 pilake karbei 40r anba. ki askri ama k' boli bat meek 40e darabe anbaui  
 boli darai se pila dairo so guma boli karbai

semiti desa monortu se a aji darani boli karbai

### Rites against Child death

marji monus nan son ro ke, da nija bula bala bele mangale, parhar penghar  
 oile, tako guruma ke daki an. bisi bai se gurumai bisi k'ru-nai, m'ake nan-  
 soni ace se lok karbai-suta p'otr kor, de, kasa u aile se, a debu

se guruma. tin bujan k'ru-suta badi de si tebe se jila tei ani rhu. se pila  
 bend a oile ba beba bol kor rsi gurumai mag mase bi, beba karbi boli  
 kor rsi mag mus aile, gurumai kondle cel, kukura nana, patal kumja,  
 nua pati, gida, pal kanda, sobu pma bai gurumaike jakkar jibai se  
 guruma an sonar rui nua k'ru. mo gol bar dine bale nei camja k'ruai  
 / se rat guruma b'as na k'ru nua k'ru sakal patle gor duar lipa pua  
 kor pua san an pua pan songe debu gar san ho ke k'ba. pote gore  
 lok ke b'endi ba an r'iba. dis man para chui rida k'ruai kumra,  
 bir, sag musa rada b'oi k'ba, cel nua lu mus cacapan haja badi kor bale  
 nei camja karbi. bed pata ba tei guruma bura leka c'ku m'ake bata  
 k'rua badi m n ke songe na karbei jurit debai shari kor nat korai  
 na kor pua k'ruai cel mara gadae hova / kanjae julu sobu puja kor  
 dei pilat hal utrai no r'ba m'is bol ho a r'k'ba pan r'k'baui. ike  
 debai poce se pilake nam debu mado hodba kame je gasi boli dakba  
 tei-un u a b'au poce cel kuku a no a rada ba a kor karbai sobu k'ruai  
 gurumaike ke ai debai cel munj marek kad pac t'ika kalam mod dei jurit  
 bel oi gurumaike pajai debai

### DEATH RITES

Lok mangole kada babu rhu gar m'ake kohor debu bondu bai m'ne-  
 ke se sokman aile pma o r'ake w'angia h'adbu m'ake bar korai pan  
 rakai eidi c'kon mo ake lagabhu w'angia tane d'ulai badi nua p'cia duhu debu  
 ar bai nebu m'ane nebu tene daru mari r'oi r'ibai se upre mo a ke ne.  
 songe dei ta upre daru r'ak debu poce dui mangje joi lagi debu joi  
 laga gale tar nua daki tor gor po a bol kor bhari nua bale c'nek h'obu  
 dan debala bala kor ho lok ke lebu ja r'ebata mad ani karba,  
 suta b'oi letri debu ani a' ai ga o ai pua gadu gore bari jibu tei  
 puria do-ke d'aron kor debu se lok mon a' jibai tin dine c'nek laka  
 asa bou kor debai b'ua a ka ke p'le lok r'oi jibai a b'oi zine se p'le ok mad  
 sor kai haa-a ka, debake jhuai vo lok ja m'ake soman kor daru r'aci  
 po ai debai sobu t'ruuna kor po ai dei aibai askri pua gadu pejmani  
 kai r'oi jibai nose kene kene a' jibai se mo a mola goer lok r'ala lok  
 aile dan b'oi s'karbai m'ida lok aile saukar gore udar ba i m'abai ar  
 k'rua gora k'ruai gore d'aron para oile man'ia cari man para gorba  
 saggal no r'alo gen bis korba tin din eile se lok asi r'ala lok aibai bai  
 bondu sobu lok joma o c'kon dona aibai am k'rua jani k'rua korba gor  
 duar lipa pua laga pa a s'ji bai dui tin lok nua aji ane bai sag,  
 r'adba gotia kufum aibai cacapan dari aibai semti oi c'kon dona dari  
 nua calank'ruai—gotia kufu a' r'oi ju be burke asa boli calan ak mar  
 deisi sobu lok jama p'oi bar nua munus man agtu bar oiba poce marji  
 mo monus pila m'ane jibai bejornae kai k'rua kor debai k'rua p'ia  
 dud kodli ba b'oi debai, pana pan songe debu, c'kon dona songe debu





## 6. Celebration on a girl attaining puberty

maia toki kama boŋle diŋanke paŋari kori bosasbu kon diŋe boŋle ne  
 diŋe muan aŋi. basasbu kanŋ go'e tar muane ga i deba an sat diŋ oŋe  
 ulai kori kuku a yake se nɔ deŋi para take ga e nei cari debu kukuta  
 celi porua pua pua gu koda dud cata wai pipol potɔr 'a i x kori  
 gate jo a wɔng-mre ne se dɔari an basasbu bangi cel pua deis puja  
 bɔdi kori se kama ga e jara lapa pu a ma dua kuca oi guŋal kati mali  
 pɔngi deis pua gadoŋ gɔre ani dɔare canaŋa kor ruku kumb nua-kɔŋi  
 pua an rɔba kɔd gɔc am gɔc jara kori gɔc sɔbu ga i debu a, beŋe  
 bosasbu kori laka deba ika dei sanke diŋari kɔba pua bed pua munde rokɔl  
 deis seŋa ci gɔre kama-ufani bai karbasu bu lok bɔu karba se diŋe-ani  
 kama-ufani bɔu ci gɔra sɔtɔk sarai deba

## Seasonal Festivals

## I cori porɔb

## A [Dundu]

cari masɔr jɔn udile sat ai diŋe ele nank ɔaksi calan-ke nank kɔsa-  
 calan, gaŋr ho san-ke ɔak, kama oibar ois porɔb ke, i anan calan anla-  
 oi babu, kalke ak marbu sɔdɔr ɔaŋde sedin gaa ke arker diŋe se calan  
 sɔdɔr ɔaŋde ja ak mari ɔakla -asa o gaŋr bɔr an duka suu, sɔdɔre asa,  
 kama oibar ois, pɔrɔb ke i ana gula, gaŋr hɔksɔdɔre asa joma oi boŋa, kama  
 oibar nank kɔla-ŋa gɔre laka gote laka mangi duki sɔki se diŋe sɔuka  
 mangi se calan ja manɔa gula gaŋr anka pma nank gɔre nei dela nank  
 tanka ɔabu e la kɔ-e tanka celi gɔn anu tae ja rɔba ɔabu kuku a gɔn  
 ɔsari ke mɔd kɔcek nei de dɔe lok celi gɔnbar jant, diŋe lɔx diŋari gɔre  
 jant calan tar gɔrke ɔaŋd pɔ e mas manɔa manek mangi mangi kori mɔt  
 gɔre an se calan ja mangi mangi jek anla de lɔx gɔle celi gɔnbar celi  
 gɔn anla dɔari gɔre jɔbaŋa ke diŋe man cɔr pɔc man manɔa sag ɔal  
 kor kacca mɔd taŋke palanai sɔok ɔaŋd an serati rɔi galo sakal palake  
 diŋari kor dela jɔgɔi deŋi kor-maŋgɔlbar diŋe pɔ' deba jara kɔra sɔje diŋ  
 toŋi, beŋe ɔan utra, pura anŋi bela ɔan cɔna, budubare porɔb kɔra,  
 gurubare i nɔi bɔi kɔra, sukubare diŋe bɔi- beŋe kɔra, sɔn bare bɔi be kɔra/  
 jara be nɔ-pauke bar wa, ha ha, cari gɔrke bar wa

maŋgɔlbar diŋe jara pa' deba se sɔje ɔan utra bu pura anŋi bela ɔan  
 cɔna, gula gaŋr ɔan tane-bɔi tane-bɔi sɔd manɔa kumɔa jɔn utra, buŋko  
 masu, kula tane sɔngɔbu diŋe lɔgɔ masu ane nebu sɔbulok puja kuku a  
 puja mapru pa' deba masu manɔa sɔr tɔs beŋa bɔi ei an-bɔi se puja  
 masu tane kuku a akot pakani caribate akot pakani an sɔr gɔtek kɔŋi  
 tane pua an rɔba sɔsɔg. eke se puja sɔngɔr kula laŋɔr ɔan masu  
 upre sɔngɔr masakɔr gɔle kula rɔan deis kɔk a-pɔrɔr pɔdu se masu  
 upre cɔgɔ se lɔki puja upre pua ɔa i deis se puja ɔa a ha-e ɔan pɔgɔ  
 deis se pɔgɔ deba ɔan sɔbulok cɔn cɔn kori dari jara nei kori barmonko  
 bi, deba se puja masu tane sɔba ci a gɔre wa a

se saku palake gula gaŋr porɔb kɔrba gɔr-dɔar lipa-poca kori sarai  
 deba gɔre ja pua gadoŋ oibar masuŋɔn bai ɔdɔba muŋus pilake pua  
 utra deba muŋus-pua mangadoŋ kori an toŋi anba ɔal bangai anba, nua  
 ɔor nua pɔrɔr anba an pɔrɔr nua ɔore toŋi gɔrba bai gɔ' bɔdɔba ɔrɔn  
 ɔe i bɔdɔba pul cɔdon dud gur ha cɔkɔ tane baŋa kori pɔdɔr gɔre neba,  
 druga bɔas jama deba rɔa se tane cɔr ɔdɔba, kuku a puja kukutako  
 akot pakabai-jara mapru toŋe bɔsɔmɔi upre dɔrɔn deba mata pua ɔuma,  
 nua ɔuma, pua ɔuma, ai gɔt bel rɔ, dɔare pare saku rɔ, munde mari  
 pɔt mari kɔde keli rɔ-bɔk kukuta puja deis dei sarai kukutake pɔrai kɔkut  
 kori se maŋake mangi rɔdu dɔna cɔkɔi sɔi kori gɔrɔ anba beŋe se muŋus

beli pakasi sobu lene göre canı upre, goru-sale belı pakasi pöce cöru bat  
bata korsi pıla kutum hos kori cöru bat kaibaı rati öde gür bondu bai  
şakı anıbat kuabai se gürlok şaka-aka oi kau bulbai semet oi ka. bulbai  
mod sur kar göre penşom loda pakaı kaibaı gular rati dawa dawaı jemsa  
kelbaı, gı gugu oibaı sakal paile gıraf oi şoder danşe şaybaı sakal paile  
jar göre tar göre bari jıbaı

gurbare tawı-bat holi bar oibaı dıarı kowce no şaake jaisa se pilamön  
no paı napaı kırı bar oibaı bafı lalı dari kori bar oibaı pilamön-ke cörimön-  
ke kedi kedi marbai bafe anı şangya badi şapu tamok sıral kor se cöreke  
carita pıla boibai ak mari o o kori boı anıbai gane anı şadre cariberti bulıu  
mıanı lene şenge, debı soy öle se cöreke pıla mon potai satı potai kori  
danşe olai bokon nuık göre satı nei debai adı adı kori satike berek şabu  
manıı anıbai se şabu şengeı reibai

erkor dıne bat belı soy hele hot belı danşe har oibaı gular gür lok-pıla  
maı şaı ok dıne şay tang şengya dari, nıb, barci, cel, kanda, kati sobu  
dari har oibaı haya baid monı şol tamok karlı şom baid dari jemsa kel  
nıb kanda dıne kılı şenge, de şaya debai goto kukutake akı tane sindı,  
kalı gardı canı debai şm gotek lak kırı bud basıne maı mon deusa keli  
reibaı şole munus pilamön se şim-ke bid haı, acıbaı ke se şim-ke marile  
ıko lıka debai ke deı şıka goto, ke deı şaıke, ke debai anek şaı şarda  
kori maımon goto maııke şal şomör holi boı anıbat bari kori gıf garbai  
şaaı roşo je,

aji tole tole kalike tole  
poröb şorile şandike tole  
tıre tole

tole mari gıf garbai, göre göre bulıbaı şal şomör ke debai anek, ke debai  
berek şemdi gular gıf şaka maıbaı pöce ka pın nıbaı, deusa şelba-şakı  
paile keibaı şodın şengör maıbaı peı paı kırı kori bar oibaı şodın gular  
gıf göre pilamön jata nıbaı şan marai akat maıbaı kukura pıla göre şim  
goto dari şengör tole jıbaı, şaya debai maımon şohör mari kedi goto  
munus pıla no roşo, jıbaı belike marimön tole marbai-ajı tole tole şaı  
maımon bel-karake paıı deı göre usı maıla jemsa ke bari

se hı-karıa dötre cögi bat bulbaı kata kofra mari anı maımon-ke  
dari dari ları şaıbaı panaparı kaibaı se rati kofra jemsa keibaı sakal paile se  
kırake kalkul kırı kundra pakaıbaı göre nei kaıbaı bet bulı şara no dıa  
oile oi bar korıbaı kufı gora korıbaı pöce baara poröb kori debai

#### B.[Gangadhar Sisa, Nandapur M E. School]

amar poröb borıke terti leıanı barta poröb cöt mase cöt poröb karbu  
se poröbke ame paıı no kırı ar kabat no kırı pıla toki maıı munus  
şahılok poröbke göre reıbaı, ar mod penşom kırı kori şadre maı karbu

poröb aıbaıe al dıa, şule gıf batlok şadre bosi kata oibaı poröb  
korıbaıe gıf batre kırı debai tar kata maımon şamı şaul penşom şobıaı  
gorman-ke kulıbutı kori anı reıbaı, cöt poröbke amar gıf batre tole şaka/  
şelokıman marıke şaka anı şadre jay lagıa deıe mura anı şol, tamok, karlı  
şol cıkıı kori baya marile pilamön tokamön şokıa şokıman anı jemsa  
kelbaı no kel-ke şemön-ke şabu şenbaı pilamön,

amér bate porób boile bóre sarda porób duse mayi tokí gore coru rádi/bat  
rádi surlai boile se batke beti pakalbai ar irik bat sadre nei catbau baja kori  
söbu lok golek gore bösbu ar agiu pendom kumbu, pace bat kaibu/goror  
lok söbu kale pace amér somdi gore bat boi kori nei debar semon missa  
porób kale amke hat penjom ani debai ani debai boile take goror söbu lok  
baja kori kaibu.

poróbike ai din yak<sup>3</sup> lokmon bate bate ja böu ráibai golek lok aite  
ritile se munuske rón-mali godlai kori semon-ke pajer manbai jaba kasu  
ki kula no dele take rón-mali godlaila tar ekaie ciebatiebor gni porób  
bele got jaba lokmon qöbu kasu dari kori got jbar

porób bele cari päc din gale mayimon goror munuske beike qöbre kodbai  
kon munus no galai ale take gobor mari kodbai se munus beike palasi  
munusmon gale mayimon gore munus bes oi ráibai beike galu lok kula  
no anai ale semon-ke bö e laga laga pakalbai munusmon kata no oi gore  
puri cul löge böu debai ar saka päle beike jaba ketek lok noimon dari  
kori agiu ja kori böu dekie ráibokai kaita marbaimon aile take noli  
löge mari morai debai take boikori ani gäo lage löge take baja mari anbai  
baja mari mari aila boile mayimon luci debai munusmon mayimon-ke  
kajbai qisla boile take orbor korbai

entar amemon porób korbu, böre niko sarda korbu söbu lokmon got  
marimari oite ráibai selamon simbake bö e niko laga cari poróbike aka  
lokmon ani kaibu porób no kori ritile ani no kori

porób söbuke korbar oisi porób no kale kula ale dekasi, ke ale mar-  
bar oim

## II. bandapon porób

### A. [Dundu]

bandapon porób punai aile amér porób oisi boulaie jutra oisi sögar  
korbu bolod korbu pul aia pul guf lia kadli dud kolot biri suä kandel  
manja e söbu sögote purai gulai gaur akot magi kori baie nebu/baie camja  
kori selane jutra dei kori uii arbu celake ani kori potas kaikul kori kundra  
pasai gulai gaur lok duki saki bala kori kaibu ani sakal päle gor duar  
lipapoca kori porób korbu kamja coru rádbu kamja qar jna pul ani kori  
puja debu kukuta gofe pujbu pidai gore coru rádi kori, kukuta potas kori  
kaikul kori coru bat sönge korbu beji pakalbu-gore, cans upre, konti päle  
tei pakalbu coru kaibu lok ritile qaki ani kaibu gior bondu baimon-ke  
kuai bu kake boile kake nai porób duse söbuke qaki, kuai bu ani öña bolu  
debu, se no karbar ele take nei gore debu arkot dime unu gäo bondu baie  
mays bat rádi döna so kori bat bala kori tatu mari dui tui döna nei debai,  
tei ani ani potatbat seia baja kori kaibu separi bandapon porób korbu.

### B. (Kalo Aita, Katchana, Lemtaput)

bandapon mas aila/alake kori gior böc san—"ale no, porób to keli  
gala barik-ke dari kori ak maru deo, kas kula oeh kukuta genbar oisi,  
eia take qaku je kor" bolbake,"—qak barik, gior böc san-ke pula jilake,  
qak tu katabarta öuköi porób kändes ale barik qakla qaklake—"ailas  
paimon, ketek laka koru jaba? oeh genbar, bafa genbar oim, porób golek  
citas öen ta kaja galani, aje-ana je koru päcek oisi/bolikori qaklau/qaklai je  
'qasirike ani päcurile se' bolikori qasirike päcarbar galu dunlok/pacarbar

gale—'kenst babu, dšari babu, kebke amor porob' 'boibake—na o, ajir din somare nua, mængolbare porob' bolikori se kədəla' kentar o pilamon, kau bolu' 'na babu somar jākōr mængolbare porob bali kari kōda' itemat ale kori dea' bolikori celu genlai, bu-a genlai se somar dūne jākōr kōlar jākōr kōr, bu-a marla cel marla, pendom goi-lai, bat sag nola te' bāla kōlar kōlar, pulai se s je ja an dari alai dari as kori soje ja an cūl bosala maes rūdai be'i pakalau, pendom rōkōlai, tipai pakalau ar kailai pulai ar sūdai sūdai ke sōri arkor sakaha mængolbar sakale panakūp, kōri gadōlai, jal pōde ka se canimon-ke kux, dēlas nua pan nua kōn-ai alai pōde sōri rūdai bāisag kōlar kori an be'i pakalau nua bat be'i pakalori an pendom rōkōlai nua pendom ar tipai-tipul kōlar se sōri, bala bat kailai kaa pū oīlai ar baimon ju-bōni lano nēlai de pakalau tene-ūni alai sas-sarda kōri ar cingala

### III. osa porob.

#### A (Dandu)

osa mase porob korbu jar gore bali debai rokle curkimon bunarbu maigi sakae ani buke rai kori soj bele gaur bali karlek para randa' ansi curkimon-ke bala kori deis sige sige kori bali songei deis pua dan balpul boli rōkō deis pan sarai deis dup akōt pakai deis an gofe dan gaja oale oīdi bala kori sarai deis se pua goe oīdi goba para osa-seja balpul se balpul ole porob korbu

Sedai gor duar lipapoca korbu/kukuta golek geni anba balpul goce puja debai/baja baad kori git gaiba, gumra na' kelba' bōna mazi na, korbu—

bōna re bōna,  
osa anba ki bali anba  
pōdar biam mōla... ..

gumra nai kori bab korbu je bali bōlai porob sarai debai

#### B (Ghasi Guda, Kanangi, Bahmela)

osa porob amor gāoe malarbau malar kori calan kōst babure asa, nua calan sōbu randa' kori- nai porob koru- kuku-a makia kōja-pujariko ku pujariko kōle na mor gore enai elā aoe gor nōs gaba aoe, mui nō kori boli kōde-a kōdehake—ā-kai geni aji aka nōs, mek din mōse nui tor gore, kemti nōs ani bōi pujariko kōla, pujariko kōhake nai elā ta tomo kōla ele o, pōt jai nō jai mor āa nai tomō gāor lōkōr āa bol se kōla kōkōri cūnbe a kōla, lipa pōca elā cōkōri kuku a golek nei debake nēla, puja kōla, alu ani goe k dūne-mōngolbar dūne elu-mōngolbar din ke bōke-nai cel golek gena bol-la, cel genlai cāda uas kōe, geni kori puja elu/puja eikōri gāor lōk sōba ja kori seti rudi ba i kori kailai kaila bole se pujari gore ani gore āi, āle bole se jāb piri dan an kori gore rōkō, songais, songei rōi bole sakale gūla bole se dan māgi nei jar bōle se ke bādi debai, an se bōi loge nedai nei upai debai deikōri goe anba' asakōri bat se pōde ani, kutei pōde ani upre, cad upre up rōdai up 'ai kori gore puri kori tāke bat pōj kōba

### IV dšara porob

dšara mas ud-le porob osa/sedine gor lipapoca kori pan gadōiba/nua pan ani calu doi anba anāi lano ādan bosai ādan aile se calu pakai debai,caju songe kalu debai calu puli ap aile gah debai galider dšara dabi debai/pami aligale utrai debai, nei an sag ādan bosadeba, se adan aile kumōa kalba, bari tulaiba, kumōa buri eka bele adan aile pakai debai/dšabna dšabi debai/

ngati eora kalai pake debar/sij gale morie oidi lison bi ai kori baribai,  
se anai jame pakai debar/e'u kalai debar ekeo pakai morie lison pa  
puja pakai debar/se sag pakai debar/se sag sij gale utrai debar

soba rida baya sarai dei kori se masu eora pami anabake jasi akot  
paka se pami gumu/manje beikori eora pami anbar bele kar songe kata  
no ay kata oile gore piri jasi boli kata no oot/se pami an kori bitor gore  
culi tane bosai jai lagi debar se eora adba jake kata no debar/sij gale  
utrai dei kori duare bar korabai

poe se manai pami gadoi dan ke anai, tenth toli anai, ku oi potre toli  
anai/an kori eora tane nua dan eora kusan pakai debar/poe kukuta pujake  
palekai, ga cokai dud, eadon, lu cokai kori bitor gore puja korsi/kukuta  
puja sarai kukuta poai kaiku kori radhai poe at go dei ku oi potre  
bei naka/si gore duare pudre bei pakai kori, ku oi potre bei sai bala  
kori jete lok rade sete lok eora bei kariba eorubai kai sara mukla bat poe  
kariba kai sarai at dei cokai punjai kori gore anai, sale gore bandai, bat bala  
kori, fak, fak anai debar setok kai kori uti gale ari, fak anai kum patai  
debar bala sata bulai debar gorke/ke no kariba lok masu nri boh kariba,

deusamondr porob epara korba

#### V dila porob

dila punai oile, gor lipsa paca kori pana pami an songe dei akot dupa dari  
jibai tas pada, akot dupa dei dan ke, manja ke, sud ke, eai kori  
dari aibai gore an pidre songe debar/ari cavi koti kori pami cokai kori  
kummon-ke bana lekha sarai kori kori bana bora porob korba/kuku, a pupi  
kori nuni patil, tane eora radi kori bei pakai karba/banabora porob boli  
kori karba

dila mase bana boriba an manja karba, dan ka, ba dan ka op  
saki gale se dan sandi songe bara baidbar/sul songe busi kori bei anbai,  
an kori kupa ku aibai an manja ka, kori ka, op sukabai an saki gale  
bara bandbu, suldak songe busi kori bei an kupa ma, e tane ku, ebu  
majumon pei kare pei go, an debar se kare jete lok rade sete bala  
kori debar se manai pila kai sarai majumon poe karba kai sarai bora  
manje bei anbai

gore an penjom eani dele, tapai kori dele bal eani baji kori cakna kori  
karba se penjom masu jaba natikari ke nai ke ga gau kelba, ke marke cagi  
kelba

'olabi jula bi marbi calna i -tus marbi boli kodi anle oib utna oit'  
separa manja karba giti

#### VI pagun porob

pagun mas punai oile ol jama eisi purba-dol utrai-gol se dan ol po, ai ol po, ai  
boli desai i-kmon to e sarda oibai udha jhalok dan a danti kate oi  
roibu bo, padar gior kon mon oi sara oi debar dai kandi gior lok daru  
korob oi korob ga i kori ol roci debar jai porj kandi baji se aka pujari  
mandipar gior ol po a dande kandi baji kori sobele deis se aka ol daru  
upre spal andai ol no basi dinc kari malabian polai baria gele paji  
deisi ar gutuni kandes, se dan dora mase nua karba ke nandipare gorke  
nei deba deba lok dan ana debar ke debar cari ana ke debar a ana dan  
deba gore magi ar dabu jama kori mad kai ali juh oi jama jama roja boli tar  
nati pujari oi po a dande paja nat, gadba nai, bes nai gote dos  
baria ol rosi bout sarda oisi kopa, ba, a, pila, kodi kete daisu bosai roiba,

ti po a bass dene ti bar korabu desamən kolki juḡi mela korba.  
pala pakaba lok, be a kosbu lok, mala potaba lok, konas anba lok, ke  
bu korba lok—epara desalok pogun porab korba

### Agriculture and Farming

#### dad (paddy).

pegun mas oile ti po i saile ti bar korabu be a kosbu pada kosbu be a  
nib, anba pala gari ba, bunbu pala gari kado kori cəkəybu se kado kungale  
dan putuḡbu go e dan jakə gə e nei tapidebu sɔy oile se dan boi anba an  
kori, puni debu sedan gaya ois ti po i nebu kosbu kosi sarai pala marabu  
ket bici debu tar upre dan pala pakabu se pala masek oile boi pala boi la  
boi kosbu

lodi be a, ciuri be a ko ki songe ko ki ko ki kado manḡdebu  
se gas kui gale ari gose tɔr ko ki kori pa a capai pan handidebu i a  
cici debu kosi kori rəḡə a marbu pan biḡdebu gas jakə ku gale  
ari pala mar kə go e jin boi nəkari se be a n brai kori ropi debu buti  
debu go e dan sarabau pala marbake dan tin sok pal. boi ba i mən-ke  
songe debu arkar dene ti narbu. be a deki kori cari ti li pan ti narbu  
ropi ba masi be a deki goror lok ca i jəs bar lok narbu ḡabu bode ḡabu  
kadi bole kadi debu se dɔvamon ke kabeke dan oti debu ti palu a c rəba  
se be ake kosbu, pa a marbu pəor pa a ba debu be a jakə marjamon  
kapi kori anba be a jakə ti kori ropba gə dan dari ropba be a jakə ropi  
saris nongu ju a boi goḡa andi dan uḡi anba

se pa a pəst aile pan tiḡdebu se dan masek oile njan ois njaḡar  
oile se goi marjamon jəba dan bədi ke cə uḡi gas gas jiki debu, pingi debu

dan mɔgile i i pali gas rəḡə ka i pingdebu msa katra marba boli  
se dan pacile karbu kəkori ko ap songeibu ko ap suki gə e sind ḡor  
songe b r a handbu sul i n songe barake bukor ko are boi anba ar  
ka anba sakale gora meli ne dan songe jori kori manḡabu ari mɔgile  
ak i songe kalaḡdebu gora bar koradebu payal pəori pingi debu dan ke  
gumi eki u a bu rəi a o bursi pudu a o gudagudi a o boli pəḡon ḡakbu

korar coru boli coru rəḡbu. kuku a pəybu ara bat kuku a maḡa  
songe be a nei be i palabu kəjare be i pakabu səbulok bəsi kori  
karbu kəi sarai dan boi anba ḡu jakor lok os boi la vɔy befe rəda bu a  
sarai dənə si kori dan boi ba lok ke ḡaki anba bar debu sɔt kar kori u i jəbi  
dan boi boikeri bokorba-kəla rəḡdoh jəpa. hpa hpi os dan bokor

maru ba a d i n agta pəsi nua dan caki dexu boli galai ḡur lok jəba  
kəbake pə aile pəre kə kə sarai debu bar bandu boi anba kəjare kupa  
ku a i dən a i anba sakal palu ke gora nei da songe i o i manḡa debu  
ak i məri pasai debu dan tin tɔr pasai debu dan mɔgile ke gora bar kori  
ak i payal pap i pingdebu dan gumi eki debu pəḡon aḡake u alba ari  
kau i kori boi anba ka bar aḡa lokmən-ke m nek laka debu se dan suka  
kui kəbas

#### maḡ — manḡa ( millet )

bun pakabake disanke pəcarbu se disari lokmənke jog bətai bun paka  
korasi dari reboti o rəle dənə mət lok bun pakarbi pakuale manḡa aḡi  
suntre pakuale sus ois aḡ puni hūrunə bun pakuale gas ois sepaḡ disari





## munja bandha (dyke construction)

gaur bor sat duki saki oi kata ebaui nask calan barik / korbai—e jo i gaur  
bandi kor be a topi kas munja bandhake nam ebaui nask kasa -tai o pulamni,  
disari go ek dabar oti. naye se gaur nar golek ace, jetei bandile se asar mari  
deui, disari dante se asarke jhorpati dei kadi pakre, esapati kora, take  
pacari mai mari sub debar oti se jog kor asa se glur bo raitmon kadi tome  
aka ja na k barik du. lok oi a jbu bob kadi

se go e din disari. ane galai jai kadi -nai disari babu, go e katar pei ai u.  
kadeba jata ole seta dehu. tai na jori kasa, amari glur d sari kreb am  
pam karba ga ke munja bandhu boli pociuni, babu disari kades jog se  
disari kila mangolbar rati oti rasi. pasua gole kaku a daki rasi setki bele  
ma pakasa perbadige man kori mai palasa selok van kari. bari o lai  
sakte na k kila barik ke gaur lok ke dak des janye gaur kata oibar o si.  
se barik ja janye ak de kori dakla asa o. janye se gaur bo san janye jai bosai  
se na k kila. saku k a li o jai babu / sana mar kati, disari kila kati  
mangolbar rati pantiya mai paka bo. kadiela tome deis e munja bandi amko  
bol, be a ti amke na ni pada bui aka ace, se munja bandile bol oti se dine  
jai du. tai lok mai paka boh kade se nask oigala ari sobulok u. galai

dai din gaur se din alake mangolbar di pantiya mai mari kor puho  
dige man kori mai pakai adai budbar dinena gula glur lok-bar oi mai  
ma bar galai senti, mai ai dinke mari gadi kadi dui par ma i din gadi kadi /  
mari mari kori disari gole galai jai disarke pacaria se disari kila budbar  
dye pauke mai puri deui / selok u. ai lai

sakale sat pauke en i no pauke ca i dos pau oia "bar us ja be mai pakades",  
selane ja jagi raias dos pau oiake dus kangar lok ma gobgab mari puri  
dela. ma i marimari oi a go kure songe mai iklam e kora se korei boi  
ogala bond puri uel galai se lokmon kata oti oi—e munja mari ne si barik  
kaji des ba a na i deui se ho se ba e puri gila selok dui pale un ma i mari  
puri deui disari gore galai disari delikari kem ai as. nai babu, munja  
bandi dehu ba a kade a kaka a jama bar kade se disari kila kila  
munja baria, na se pulmal na kodil dud codon cokrasa ka. krasa na na  
ja kati lagi nua adi gole lagi nua gamka lagi carri etek malasa eibar  
dine jabor mardebi munja bele marbi j. kori malasa

selok u. ai kora na k gore galai nask-ke kadi / saku jama kori daki galai  
disarke se disari do potir dari bar oia, songe bi i kori asai ro bar di ne munja  
bele jor marbake galai kila mendu tai dar kori katra dela gamke prada.  
dela se disari citari kori mendake puidela barake puidela mendu munja  
ma munja. topidela baru munja munja tae idridela ka i tane oia  
ba kori puri cari ba e mantor po i maridela mje munja kari a kari  
maridela jhorpati saras gaur glur cail eki adi rad be "pakai kaila.  
se disarke katlam dei pa ai as se munja teb gala se glur daki suk, ba a bag  
kori topila be a dui par kadi bosai kori topi dela. / se aneuni se glur dan  
ela dan bat kadi duki saki bol oi juku kaila /

## gor baid ha (housebuilding)

gor baidbar mai mari jama dei kori dor boni kila kori jima mari kori  
kura mari dehu dos ai kor sat at oar kori kor pakarbu mai mari kori panti  
kura ai mai jame rikoi pularbu / puidle kori songe pasai pasai mandba /

ma; kani gale koti pakai bu koti o. gale age ma. deli garbu pore atu patiya pakai bu a. a. rabi bu atu rabi sarie mul pa'ya pakai bu masa deli ga bu. ari masa pa'ya pakai bu a. pinda deli ga bu. ari pinda pa'ya pakai bu. ari atri deli ga bu. atri patiya pakai bu ari kolisa rama beda kori mai onga kori pakai bu ari budi pona kori mul patiya: cip badi. ari sa a badi. piri dat badi badi. badi. saru piri oca kori kama songe dor cindai piri debu se dor bosi jara ari se tua gore bosa oboke gore homi porai pibe mau se tua patia rabi bet pakai sobu bosi kashai sedine tene—uni bosa obo.

## Hunting

### I baria, (boar) —

beke pbarlok na. cel barai dari barobai gulai glur ok dapa lamok ga a tanka dari barobai gulai glur panti akot mabai kukua pira gore dam gole dari kori jiba. dore jar paja de. dore dari, bosi ben gouke paja denda N-re cogba.

dore cangkanya damok pati rohai, podkanya, poci pati ro ba. rojan lok mogi rohai mogi go e goc dapa tamo rohai podkanya, cangkanya taje masa dari rohai dapa lamok gola. buka e sobu dari baji badi mari godgodi mari mari anba haria, katta pa'ya buhai bayu a pa'ya bulhai banta juke gale kici debu, dore kang dari jag rohai se jolu gale badi debu, mar bol kedi bulhai haria kup oigale lokar upre dari ari marbake dabrai masi se barake duk ak dari mar bote mar bolaboli o. ke lache, ke biduake cel songe busbai. aciba maramar. o. a nati o. se barake morabai morai komi dor mar. barake badi kori borbai dapa lamok mari badi goke nai kori guke anba. dore urabai maymenke dari dari ari tiki ogu bu panapana ka. ke e sanda o. gulai gaur ok dom yuk am morai bognya buai danya kolai, saru rati keha. sukul pule se barake rei kateha kori agta marla lok se sati debai, paje marla ok-ke tamo debai. paretinok-ke paja debai roji gore hura debai se paru bula kori debai je rabiha kundra pakeretake debai / bulagola kori sobulok kar-ha mun' go, bop kori kaiba seti rabelok, sobu kai kori jar bai tar bai o. jiba.

### II kare (hare) —

pa uyolke gulai glur lok bar ohai pilamon kata jal dari bar o hai, pablimon-ke bulhai kata kaboi dari rohai bekaraya men lonke qan sange mari mari kori jiba se bet laka-bet dari dam masi bulhai se kata dam sobore ulile mar dari kori neijawe odrathajale gupai marbai noli kukuke cabebai noli kaboi songe mardebai, noli duna kang songe bididebai.

kafake masi kori ani po'a. kakat kori kundra pakai kaiba se mun' goke bop kori jol kori caki tane bekarayamon dukbai kaimaruke sati debai jale gupai marile take masa sati debai.

### III musa (rabbit) —

rajar bele musa bet jiba murga baji daga masi rohai se tone jiba, lala dari jibumusa jal dari jiba carlok jal edi. ohai carnok murga baji lala songe bosi anba musa pala, ani jale gupa jiba. se jaramon mun' dari picai kori marai debai, gulai rati bul bul musa bet bulai calnek laka mari ani buji kaiba.

## Life Sketches

## I. majji munus kata (domestic life of a couple)

munus kola muu koshake nebi, tui pej oibajak kot borte ro, muu ol meti  
ane kai kori songe kat hoi se ol jor baari gula se majji pej sag radla ani kot  
bortar wigala kasi podu kat bor ani se munus pej bela jiko kola ar ol meti  
kori nongol juari boikori uti aala se majji ar gor doikori pe dela munuske dua  
lok oi kai ar ar cone boslu munus sika bangiya jaa pon be a sika saja ani  
dai majji munus kai gad, ane gaur kot rundaila ma jike baai dela ar se bota  
boimeikori kat kurmi kon raker dela kot gad, sarai dela, guhai moidan bor  
sarai dela gore uti aila,

a beliya pej kadori se munus cone soi robe, fakla para oiga i, dui robe  
boli gu i dela se majji ga e gula panigumi kori bor anla panigui utrai songe  
dela kudru ani daru mori gula daru bangai anbi je joi lagaiu bol eubr car  
rundai pungi dela ar joi agala calu doi bala la ani sag ka'har bosla calu  
sui a lake calu kauri dela se bat utrai dela sag adan bosla dela idan adake  
sag ka i paka dela sj galake nan mori pakai dela ar sj galake utra dela ani  
pej adan bosai dela joi lagaiu dela adan arake bota a gund panu songe god-  
lai pej gu lai se pej onka songe pejaji ane kala dela pej sj galake utrai pej  
kudru songe dela je panu sarai dela saja bula boli peybelaolake duilok kailai  
ani lai ucau soi a

sakai parake munus ol jori nola manja siri podu ara darbake se majji  
pej sag radla gubor kacra rundai batani pungi dela pej gu i kasa buu kori  
dela kuni labi dela se munus kasha ane gula bu'buu marbake gas napri  
pungi ucau uybe a jak kola ar ol meti u a a munuske panu utrai dela  
se panu kudru a pe baa kori kati ani cone pundu a i be a ko o'kar ga-  
la se bera sarai be ake gas o'ngi dela boli ka o'kar gas se lodi mori  
lane koshake o i boli kola e be a esa sika bun dea be, be a dan akuri kori  
bun a pa i pakai hak dan una ac bun dea boli kuakui oi as ka'ike ko va  
kase buu dela panu marle akuri dui oi tiari, un oi ele pejbe se sarai dei uti  
a bu, tu pej goina an be

kakutajake ol jorikor netai tui ol pejbela bele sara kori uti asai ditan  
gosi, ar gor doi pej hat kai kori se munus sika bunbake netai se majji goru sa-  
rai kedineu sika bun sarai goru manjaila dan akuri kado kosi paja mari  
bun dei gas jui ajali pungi dela nai be i sukai dela manja bunbake agtu  
koshai poce kot bebai bor sika bun sarai manja lane bura koribai debai pala  
olsi nei pali pali bunu debai /

duki sika deua majji munus etati se gor kori roibai kaiba, jibai,

## II. daru kor ba. (collection of firewood)

sakli i uti kon daiton gon baai pej kai mari marbake jibai mali mari sarai  
gore abai panu raker oibai ani pej kai cone pungi kori langiya nisbu jomre  
bun jiba. jomre jai sukla daru kaiba daru kai kori auaa ani kutaibu daru  
one mal mar an juu qor ita kon daru roeba jui kauri bad kori tui korbu  
koshosa koma ale pakna songe roji debu rikna kori ka korba ana o, bua be,  
ja be, soy oia b- ane neta, cone tua ta, jaji ruz, baidum sobu badi sarai  
sobulok misi kori daru boi uti abai gore se daru ani joi lagaiu

pani kalbu se piri sakigale muti baidu ani kori ku'bu ani gor caibu /  
puna piri saf caibu, keti caibu,

### III. am kai ba (mango eating)

am hesi ani cani kori du para korba ari tore ka, idele cari pa'a oti / kha  
am bot badi, olop olop bo. badi, ros take toli ani kor, du pa'a kori am ofonga  
korba. take nan, moni, gar cikon mesa derob pa'a suka, bai. me anji tane  
para songer debai. safa am, pa'a am ke ros packai roske lali tane roko debai  
dunke ros rokoiti raba dihom oi suki, gale kari kari beiba, am safa boli korba,  
take bikabi korba

am kai p'ngidisa jaku kuni roiba. bondapon mase jaku capi kari se  
majike korba. gu' kari sukai ba. canis tane se ruti suai kori saakale nei kotkora  
pari tane ofi debai. peyela jaku odu roiba. ani take bebi ani kori pia porai  
karba. gu' songe b' ai pei gu' korba. mandru s'jai karba.

### IV. onja gol ba (cooking millet powder pudding)

cu' jo lagi debai. tar upre pati tane pari bosai debai. pansukhi, jaisa, seta  
adan aila. setane gu' roko debai. cu' songe giti debai. seta mada oi jaisa /  
se onja kakar ele beta kori karba

### V. gour kata (the cowherd)

goru curubar gou darba. barta pouai curai kori darba. dak gote daraba.  
bol din kori gou. celi meamtu vedine-un se gour bol yakha se sakali na goru  
mela' bo iuk matu. gour mel debai se gour sad u nei yonger pare curi, podu  
balai curai ani. sy ore kari kor. goruke sakali ande tar maj' banyaman-  
hake jai s' gu' get maj' anshat dunke ke pe, dunkeke debai dei maj' munus  
lok. pia oi carlok ba. kari ka ba. se ruti sei ro ha. sakai. pa'at ani goru mela  
bol ak matu. se ak suri kori gur ink ga ra mel debai. bor pothi jula, liker  
curai ani. ar gotari bosani. se gou n' banga magi joki. p lake uci se kari si  
goutke pejany' boi kori nei. jantai tane ne pe gouke dora se gour pe, kari dore  
roilake oliyapamon. cu' gouke begla begla. h'ne curula. dunke beglaiba a  
sai bunde sui mandathake nei. podai mandu bunle se podai nei. 'mandi'  
buna bai magi kari. baia an bunle te, nei. tei buna bai magi kari. kaja beta  
sarle kotare goru nei mandu bai. ari goutke dak pouai debai.

### VI. kumar kata, (the poster)

kumar kumari du masi munus mali kumbake jiba. mati kum pala kori  
tane runga kori bosanba. se mat' anikori gadi kori kurai ba. boi boi ani kura  
deba. se matike pati sista debai, -gor songe mandi pakaba. ari ko-ki songe  
mar-mar kori gadikari kurai debai pati songe jiba. ari taliba / gori bali  
bac paka ari gadi kari gor songe mand' basar masa. carnai misai kori gula  
korba. se gula nei roko songe dei cook kindrihai, anj. gotha. anji gor, kari  
suka, debai. se anj a kosea o gale take majla songe paba. pii pli kori songe  
deba. se anji suai gale roko mali, am cah kosa misai s'jai kori sofa songe pojhai  
poji kori kari sukai debai. ari anji potaba.

daru roci debai. tar upre anji roci debai. tar upre tar upre matilipi debai.  
payal pakai debai te. kari rasi. so ele se kari bale jo lagi debai. gu' rati  
jaka kumarmun se ai tane so, jiba. sakal paribajake jagi roiba se anji. poti jo  
libigale se anji beti ani songe debai. anji gonbalok ale se kumar baki. kejake,  
dabake baki bai kori karba. ari ale neba, gamon-ke neba. 'separa kumar pati.'

## CONVERSATIONS

Participants—Dundu Hantlal, Nandapur  
Kilo Ata, Kanchana

Subject—Exchange of compliments at a formal meeting

D. tomor glau esu kemú tas heusa benas ?

[How is the cultivation this year in your village, brother ?]

K. amor glau esu—darbala darla, noibala nas, noibala landatara, darbala darla—se rokoni oigala.

(This year, in our village in good lands there was some yield, elsewhere nil, seed wastage. It is so so.)

K. amor bale musa pans mare nai ki kici nai, eia bote jajal oigala. eie esu bome tomor glauke konjek subida ace, nai ?

(In our side also it neither rained. It became a problem. However, it is not so bad in your village this year.)

K. sela se darbala darla noibala nas konbale darla, konbale gar darigala—seikike aka bote okoso oigala

[That I told you there was not full crop. Somewhere flood washed away. Therefore we are also no less troubled.]

D. tomor gore kete kulum acot ?

(How many members are there in your family ?)

K. amor gore ? oibai kai dos lok.

(There are some ten people in our house.)

D. dos lok acot; ketia ji ace ?

(Ten, How many daughters you have ?)

K. duia ji, duia po—canla; esur dine bocubar goick ace. tas konjek landatera oigala.

(I have two daughters and two sons, four in all. It will be a real task to feed them this time. Much of our crops got spoiled.)

D. kake kake mon-ke delus ?

(To whom you gave them ?)

K. deber nai ta, lokanon jibai be

(Not yet. They are to go)

D. mod anis. ?

(Has anyone offered you wine for that ?)

K. ubdek sui acot—ol bairke anbas be

(They brought once. Hope, they will bring again at the ploughing time)

- D. semti ele mu aibi—got aibi ā ?  
(Then I will come, of course, as your guest)
- K. ao  
(Yes, do come)
- D. penḡom pakai deisu  
(You will give me beer)
- K. pakai debi nai jo;  
(Should I not give you).
- D. mod ani dema.  
(You will also give wine.)
- K. mod e anidebi  
(Wine too, I shall give.)
- D. dāari para aibi.  
(I may come as a priest.)
- K. mod debu. penḡom debu, solop debu. kai kori kai se kata kai desu.  
(We will give you wine, beer and salop juice also. You come, drink and advise us regarding the marriage.)
- D. aibi, dāari bari kai debi, ā I kōiya gōr mandai debi.  
(Yes, I shall come as the priest and shall perform the wedding.)
- K. ā ao.  
(Please come.)

## II

Participants—Dunda Hanthal, Nandapur.

Muroh Khala, Tikrapara.

Subject—Dispute for land.

- D. sunhus nana, esu bōrse muu kebe se beḡa no caḡi. janhus—mōke kōmama ebar esu—dek, jagi rok!

(Do you hear, brother, this year I will not leave you that piece of land I am prepared to fight for that. Remember this.)

- M. sunhus—sunhus, nana, eia to amo dadi ani kale korbala—toke kemti jana debi? ame rōjake matu bōdi kari eia komathu kailum oi sag kori ame kōḡa karbi toke dele?

(Listen brother, this is a deed of our grand-father's time. How can I leave you? We have been paying tax for that and we have been tilling and enjoying the yield since long. If I leave this to you, then what will we eat?)

- D. *mu e co boros sat boros bādli nana, bādi kōi mo tane se rekot ace, rōad  
ace, sitou ace mu kenti ca: debs ? tor mor jati lag jibar ois.*  
(I am also paying taxes for the last six to seven years. I have the record, the  
receipts and the order of allotment with me. How I shall leave that then?  
I am sure of a dispute between us.)
- M. *ace, jagie lag—lagie toke e taska lagsi sorkar repōi kōle moke e lagsi cari  
pōisa. setkire kai ace se lok sorkaror sardi debai, tor ois ki mor ois  
bicarna ele.*  
(If you so desire let there be a dispute. If you take to the court, not only  
I but also you will have to bear the expenses. Then those people from the  
Government will decide the ownership of the land.)
- D. *semt. nai nana, salabadi oi jan, jati jagi a ele kai lab nai, repōi bēi ele kōi lab  
nai tumoi bāi kōi mod sōr kai kōi cōi pōa, oikōi pōcat, kōi den.*  
(That is not the way, brother. Let us compromise it. A dispute won't be  
profitable to any of us. Let us arrange wine etc. and invite the village council  
to decide the case.)
- M. *emti ele kai eia! fak, gāor nark boi san ke fak—car kulum ke bōsai kari.  
selok bāi dōi. ame bāiukōi kōle amke—toke butch moke una bōi an  
marupis oiba.*  
(Let it be so. You invite the leader and other villagers. Let them distribute  
the land. If we do it ourselves, we may suspect each other for taking  
more and quarrel again.)
- D. *tin dōi lok fak, mu dōi lok ke fakbi mu goie lok fakke xata sunbai ki ?  
tui goie gāor lok fak, mu goie gāor lok. car kōngir marj munus bōsaihar  
ace na ? no ele kenti ois?*  
(Then you invite a section of the people and I shall invite another section.  
Will they come if I call them alone? It is customary to invite people from  
all quarters.)
- M. *ace mu fakbi tin kōnd gāor lok ke se.*  
(Alright, I shall invite from three villages.)  
—...Afterwards, at the village council—  
*bābumon tōme ahas ame dōi lok tar buni ki mor buni kōi nō para tōme  
mātor mā bābu bōi lok—bānti deisa ki goie lok ke sōrpi deisa.*  
(Gentlemen, we two are unable to decide whether the land is his or mine.  
We appeal to you all, you decide and give your verdict whether it is to be  
shared by us or one alone will get.)
- D. *gāor bōi san, bāta kōndele to mōsa kōman bāja kōndele mor jibon opōi,  
no le mu take kebe opōi nai take munō di pōra ente mandebi.*  
(Honourable Members, in case of distribution, if you divide equally I shall  
forgive him otherwise not. I shall break his skull in to two.)
- M. *sōte moke martsa ! moke marie nō parus tui. toke kōdi kōdi marj pōka.bi  
morte Jibone.*  
(Really! You can not beat me. I shall pursue you and kill.)

- D. a re gonyi bura, toke mu nɔ caɔ—tor bale konti ale jagi kori mari debe.  
(You little orphan ! I shall never excuse you. I shall be on your way to kill you at any time.)
- M. sɔre e tun moke hɔre mɔsa—tor mor parbat deku -lago  
(So you want that ! Let us see who has ability, come forward!)
- D. ketedin lucu? gore asi tor jagi kori marbo, manjike mu neba.  
(How long you can hide yourself ? I shall kill you right in your house and take your wife.)
- M. sotoi ?  
(Is it !)

## III

Participants—Dandu Hantah, Nandapur  
Kilo Aita, Kanchana

Subject—'gotar melba'(Ceremony for releasing the spirit of the dead members of the family)

- D. oɔ bɛna, timɔr lok bak mole ketedunke bu, kɔsa ki gotar mɛsa seɔa ame sunu nai jama na—kɛta kori mɛsa seɔa kori dɛa, bɛna !  
(Friend, when your people die how do you celebrate the obsequial ceremony that we do not know. Please tell me how you release the spirits.)
- K. seɔa bɛna, gotar mɛba boli amɛn ko e go ek tin boroske akɔi pokɔdebar akɔi pakaɔi dele sɔri tas bas sɔman gori baci sɔman mole sɔri, setake poce bana borbar damake bana bor dele—go pɛman 'etki din oigala, tin boros oigala seɔa gotek kɔrɔdeɔ seɔa nokɔle ar lok kori agɔi, gori kori agɔi seɔi kori dele se boi ebar eɔi boli kori seɔa ar poce bana buni bordebar boridele se—nai o gotek disari gotek se dɛa, disari nɔ dɛaɔe nɔe bol kor disar, govek dɛaɔu  
(About that my friend, we usually propose to observe that in three years, of course, if the economic condition favours. Firstly, in an assembly of the clan we discuss the matter and convince everyone that if we won't observe, then the spirits might do harm to us and to our cattle. Then we select the spirits and approach a priest to perform the rites.)
- D. dɛ sari tane ju, kaɔ kor bo i kɔsa, se disari kaɔ boli kor mari tom ke, munɔa ana boisa ki, gotar mɛsa bolɔa ki kaɔ sub dɛaɔi boli ki kaɔ boli kɔsa?  
(When you go to the priest what exactly you tell him, I mean, how do you name the job?)
- K. take, disari baba, disari babu. —kas babu ! —nai e rakom paɔi korbu, gotar mɛba paɔi korbu, ele e paɔi gotek pɛni akɔi konɔk dek akɔi ani eɔu, eɔi kebe eɔi kebe nai, gore konɔk pɔbor mari deɔa bolikori seɔa kɔidebu se dɛaɔi  
—& i koru tebe, sobar sɔje mɔɔolhar sakal paɔi e dɛa pɔbor mari dɛu  
bolikori se disari aɔi: aɔi sɔni kukuta mak a, baris, kalɔroɔn pulma, guɔ kodli kori eɔi kɔti poɔi kori se disari pɛma kori kukuta-pila dɛaɔi, buta-pila kɔiɔi, celi mɔsa mɔsa seɔa sɔmɔt paɔi kɔsa je kɔti mari dɛaɔi kɔti maɔdele



poce ar gotor aron esa. -na: a, pot genbar ja be bolikori pot genbar jibai.  
olek tin ko-i oisi ki car ko-i e sa ki sae esa ki seta mulor pot gen anbai ja  
akta ar poce ja roilata genbai.

(We will request him to examine the sunned rice that we shall be carrying with us and fix the day for the ceremony. He would suggest a time at the junction of the Monday and Tuesday. Then he would come to the village on the specified day and sacrificing chicken, buffalo and goat too, would fix the auspicious post in inauguration of the ceremony. Our people would go to purchase the main buffalo, the price for which may be as much as eighty or hundred.)

- D. bondu bai sobu jomai kori kata oisi ki gote garor se kata oisi ? disari dari kantiya anla para korsa?

(This is done collectively or in single families? Does the proceeding is similar to the wedding ceremony?)

- K. bondubai somote runch kori seia katabarta oibuje -nan pilamon eta no kole no be, kori dea bolikori, se a, a kori dea tebe -bolikori se a sae munj ki, ois munj ki mola para seta, jomai kori seta koru bole koru, no kole to nay seta pot genbar ale ja be disari ke yak aru. disari tane ari ju be kebke e'n munja garbar oisi, kebke kata korsi, pagan tolasi bolikori se kata kosa -disari babu, akot eri dek puni, eta amir gotorke kebke munja ga bar kebke pagan boli kori seta pacarbu -ja o, mongolbar dine soje munja ga a, pagan tola, budar dine gotor—bosi kori se disari kandel, pa-na palan dine bos kor deia—mongolbar dine munja gara pagan tola, budbar dine gotor

(Yes, we all sit together and discuss. Then we approach the priest to fix up a day and we do according to his instructions. On the Tuesday we fix the auspicious post and build a small mound and on the Wednesday 'gotor' takes place.)

- D. nle mu ar aibi ti benai, dekla para ' aile se bat bu a maes komek deia ki? gotor lane kai karia kori bida badan korsa seia moke kordia

(How I wish to come and see your function. ' Won't you feed me if I come? Please tell me more about the rites.)

- K. seta bamun bamun aibai, mri mator aibai, lok bak sobu, bondu somdi sobu aibai, sobu runbai -sapa runche kori budar dine sok in panikaji gadopado oibai, po-ke gadopado korbai, golek lok sabol dandari ter marsi, marle sori munja garbar pagan nosai debai, pagan ari golek garu debai potke puni rikoiha -rikoi kori ca i (saii) bandbai ter munja bandbai ene tene -akot pokai debai, bat kua debai.

(All our friends and relatives will come to attend. Then on the Wednesday early in the morning, they will get up, take their bath and will wash the buffalo. Someone will dig out a hole, whereas they will fix the post. They will remove old mounds and build a new one. Then they will pour water on the buffalo, after a wash up they will put on new cloth on it. Then the buffalo will be tied on to the post and will be fed with rice.)

- D. dan,a danti na: kori bud marsi ki naa, seamon kous nar, odek laaa deia aas.

(Do the boys and the girls dance and play drums? It seems you are concealing facts!)

- K. *poi mari kori tei baya marbai, tei naf korbai panyayaman, bendu sonda soba nuu kori naf korbai. pendom sur kuabai, pada munas nebayu. neukori tei pada munja galbai, tei se po'ke budi debai tei was aibai, asukori masne bat nebai.*  
 [Yes, they will dance beating drums and drinking wine. The buffalo will be taken and tied to the outside post. Then they will take rice to the burial ground.]
- D. *panya bole rana lok darsa ku porja lok se oasi?*  
 [Whom do you take as Panyu, Ranas or the tribals?]
- K. *panya ba. porjamon se, porjamon, gadbamon, amor bamon senti. kori masne bat nei kori tene an pagu der kori aibat as aa pa o bai—pendom ka bai, bat ka bai, sa. sarda o kori a.i pada munda banyibai tei padae naf korbai, g'galbai aka goje dui goni kas tin goni belake ku se poi meli kari bamon-ko sorpi debai.*  
 [Panyus are our own tribal brothers. Then offering rice in the burial ground, they will return home, eat, drink and do merrymaking. Again they will go to the outside post, there also they will dance for sometime and then present the buffalo to the members of the clan.]
- D. *ele gonla darsa ku at belya—munj belyu darsa ku konla darsa?*  
 [But you mark time according to clock or sun?]
- K. *dui gonla bole d.i, gonla ke t.n gonla bole t.n gonla ke tofik bele bamon ke sorpi dele se lok ene bari jibai.*  
 [About time we are not so particular. Finally we present the buffalo and then they take that.]
- D. *ke nebai?* [who will take?]
- K. *bamon* [Our clan people]
- D. *panyu bamon neba—e, mi mester ke darsa, sonda ke darsa poi sorpi—apni ke juri kabai?*  
 [I see, the Panyus, friends and relatives will take. Then what your own people will have?]
- K. *apni ke gotek munja bog boh mari debai seia ada lok sobu puri kor ke gordek ke dui goroda para tene jole tole jiki dari jibai.*  
 [We will kill another as an offering to the Post. Everyone of us will take away bits from that.]
- D. *rana, kasa ki kilas kasa? cuca padaa asa baite rusa, ten qasi dari matkum oia, seia mu gotek dexli goter, lane, sentar se oia, bena?*  
 [You say as if they eat up the raw meats. Once I saw at a 'Gstar' the people were behaving like mads. Do you do like that?]
- K. *sentar se oiba kar! ten dan dari, kar munda put, kar gagor som sat (om ca), gof ban, at ban—sentar matkum dij bai tene jar para se uli jibai.*  
 [Oh yes, that is very usual. With sticks in hand, they never care whether the head gets struck, skin gets scratched, leg or hand gets fractured. So they celebrate till the end and then disperse.]

### Extracts from Palm-leaf Manuscripts.

[There are two palm-leaf manuscripts (Pothu) in possession of Dandu Hamthal, Nandapur. These are the only available authentic written records in Desia, observed by me.

1. *Nola-benja Pothi*. This is a book on hunting. It contains 133 folios written on the both sides. The script is archaic and provide an interesting study of Onya calligraphy. Some peculiar characters are cited below as examples.

3-	𑌒	-	( 𑌒 )
4-	𑌓	-	( 𑌓 )
5-	𑌔	-	( 𑌔 )
6-	𑌕	-	( 𑌕 )
7-	𑌖	-	( 𑌖 )
8y3-	𑌗	-	( 𑌗 )
8w3-	𑌘	-	( 𑌘 )
8v3-	𑌙	-	( 𑌙 )
8r3-	𑌚	-	( 𑌚 )
8ha-	𑌛	-	( 𑌛 )
8aswat-	𑌜	-	( 𑌜 )

The extract given below contains the 'mantra' and other rituals to be practised for success in bear-hunting.

2. *DaNga-Jaura*.—This book contains some mystic devices to spell or charm persons, to cure diseases and to achieve various materials or spiritual prospects. This work is incomplete. As there is no colophon, the date and the name of the scribe or the compiler remain unknown. However, the archaic characters in the script indicate its antiquity. The following characters need to be mentioned.

3-	𑌒	-	( 𑌒 )
4-	𑌓	-	( 𑌓 )
5-	𑌔	-	( 𑌔 )
6-	𑌕	-	( 𑌕 )

The extract given below is about a mystic device through which the menstrual flow of a woman is prevented to stop naturally for any length of time, may be until her death. Mode of transliteration—

Long-i-i	Long-u—t	Anusvar-w
Pranatal—s—i	Cerebral-s—i;	Dental-s—s
Abargya-j(y)-z	Vocoid—ru—r	

#### Nola-benja Pothu Lekhna

grrama swaraga-bana zygile na asile rchiberadino maulkaniko potro  
durja adhe agi peto moku dei potibo jgile bana soi-om bolonika satosa  
satabizo sato preborto sato goro blutroku ghauria pmarjetepantun dekhubi

teteke manbi chala cojai ghose cahmbu e somasadehotaku paza deb. pantun  
 mari matson khaabi sadhosam benicku mari rau pōzo tōhan pae mahar  
 benia jitha wantha mahar ma kahari agyan. si benjagribasani soddha  
 sour agyan ethu ba o m ruder g n porthore soua soan tha pōtan  
 mari mayeso khar/basaurapouk. puzade prachame sobo shuridat ve goa  
 sou/tatiye uma cotantha chatridha poncane soben pango pae hughua  
 mahar boja mahar bura mahar uma mahar m abontanka mahar amoste  
 gramadehor, dasame darasaga yekadasame urasagi dadasame barasaga  
 tera puzare bonosiragar couda puzare bogo draga phanderi puzare poncane  
 draga wala puzare kal kama atar puzare gramadehor atar puzare bosumau  
 tumbbennane somaste thai maharamanethiku pūjhar den gōdangayoi  
 mirgōsambhar hōripahara garanjai gurandi ko arakuray mirgōyol jhuxi  
 sobhama maza sala parhate na ponca draga pane danare mada pōgare  
 pōncanare manchōn pō abol phulā condhōna cokul pūgo kalli pūza  
 mado maza condhōna phul orak phul manohar pha dūdura tōnana  
 kadai ha maa poncamrō cokul la maa pūna bosumantiki phul condhōna  
 rakmadā poncam dōrāsh kantakōni pōrōre pūza anho matore ashto  
 bosho ye jere heto hēle cok phutō shai zōm aso hūdōmari zōma achi  
 anmo raso kiko lagō terecha pūza om gramadraga ye tani dragū bōndhō  
 mat sūh ye pōth tōn baridei kōr zōi maa so aw draga e mukar nāso  
 kōl e hōno dā nasore pōka nasore manbi cousothi jōgm agyan pa  
 baloto pua mub zū mār pāri tōpa tūmāi zōmōrōku thūkrē mari sobu  
 j hōntān ka hūb dōr and mōhaste mōrpūb pōtka dōrāib mahar  
 agn n kumbhūa hana zōdōt masokōkū hūb dōrāi and nāso aso gō zōgmān  
 yeb. hare bosoh bu bōpāra agyan-re kēpki nāpū kahare and hōchmāy  
 bōsu maheswōr bōpāzānkār kōji kōi agyan

## COLOPHON—

dmtm nama sambhokshara pu wa kyōto cōrōdai rabu har hēlo udayo  
 prāhmagha e jhare bōrnagharē wēhe pa nōkshēre ye benia pōsteke  
 sodārye sōmpurpō hēla cāngi a gramare lexhōnikara rajō si sōbōm  
 pōrōnko hōthō akshar si pōgōnathōnko cōrōpō swarōgō nāyayegō pādō swōrōnō

## Dango Jōtra

Jo ma kina ocū hēle tahir luga nūgho uga karia dango cha : naki  
 jibō apōga dekie ba o dūi phungideho pasōl nō dekki asho se phingila  
 bōrō asle se dango ka i agmō sōnhar dīe sōp bōrō se dangor tōna  
 kukūa gōle kōla rōngō gundō kōr dūpō dūpōkōr dānōmō jibō jirāz  
 pūpū dēkhō kōnkōrō pōrō gōrē agmō se dango sātō pō a kōr bō dūpō dēi  
 jirān pōtīrē mēra gūnibō kōkō a pōrō bōrō hug bō kōr rōngō bōlī kajibō  
 kāmē kōmēnū lū sumōrībō kōkūnū pūj se bō o upōrē rōdīrō rōpā bō nās  
 dhōrī lāt maribō hāmō gōrē pasōl nō dēk asbō kēbēle tahir rōdīrō nō  
 atōr se hātō akā i dēi bōtō hē nāh lē nāsō jibō

[A woman at the time of monthly menstruation usually boils her cloth  
 which she stirs with a piece of stick and then goes to the river to wash  
 the cloth leaving the stick on the spot. If you see that stick pick it up  
 and throw it across the fence to the other side. Then leave the place  
 never looking back. Exactly after a week, bring that stick and on a Satur-  
 day at the evening hours go to the river with the stick a cock black and  
 red Powder incense etc. Bring one Kakral leaf split the stick into seven  
 pieces, burn incense fix up the sticks as posts in the running water and  
 weave a fence with the leaf. Then throw the powders while remembering the  
 woman with concentration. Now kill the cock and sprinkle the blood on  
 it. Check up breathing and kick seven times with the left leg. Then never  
 looking back come away. If this is done, her menstrual flow shall never  
 stop. She will be cured only when the fence is pulled out otherwise she shall die.]

## MANTRA

[Dundu Hantah], Nandpur 'dasari' is the informant of this mantra. It has the power to cure certain diseases.]

Je mapru t e basamoh upre dornadehta nor narayon aji kaila poi  
kari bat. bodai e kari mapru buja hoire mo hoire, garob nisani, bujima lakur-  
ani? sor parbati, dek mapru, dibaire sariy saki rutarre condro sak mapru,  
kuladgo saki kari aji pani ki potar ki koli mapru oho boli kari pani boli  
kari kari kari kari kari kari dande boli kari boli bujima lakuran' joga. mandi  
kari ja—ja hai boli ja, dand boli ja—

## SONGS

## (A Note on Songs)

Desiyas are great lovers of music. They live to sing and sing to live. They have songs for every occasion and music for all the sentiments. Every Desiya man and woman is a horn composer. They do not care much for the art of style or diction. They simply render their feelings into set musical tunes with occasional flashes of wit and humour. Poetry is their natural heritage.

Of all the types of songs they have—Nursery songs, Marriage songs, Sairal songs, songs for various seasonal festivals and ceremonial rites—Kindri songs are most popular. Desiyas believe that Kindri songs have a natural origin. The dahi (boy) and the dahi (girl) sat at the opposite walls of the ravine (kolka) and the songs flew in between them like a mountain spring.

During 'Cait Paroh', the new-year festival held at the advent of the Spring season, the country becomes flooded with the music of Kindri songs. Men and women gather at the centre of the village and sing and dance to the beats of drum. "Cortely murders with a led hair and flower decked kindri orma chun as each murder passing her right hand behind the next girl's back grasps the left elbow of the next but one and dance as they wind in and out, backward and forward" (Beli Kotariat District Gazette). A competitive mood prevails throughout between the pairs of boys and girls as they sing by way of question and answer. The lovers spell-bound their sweet-hearts by charms of music and win them to marry at the end of the festival.

The Kindri songs have a peculiar pattern. It starts with a prologue that contains salutation to Gods and Goddesses and invitation to the contesting partner with request for a fair deal. Then the boy and girl sing in turn by way of retorting each other. Each stanza starts with an invocative such as 're lo, lohi' with a very high pitch. Then follows the lines of the stanza. Each stanza contains seven metrical lines in the following rhyming order—

A—A B—(C)—B:D—D.

Number of syllables in A and D—11 in B—8, in C—6+5

The subject matter of the first two lines is normally a reference to some natural object, the middle lines contain the actual subject in the form of either question or answer, the concluding two lines are called 'caina' or refrains which lashes out at the opponent with a stroke of irony, wit or satire.

—'Kindri—ga'—

## (Prologue)

Joyo tu komola joyo tu hamola joyo tu soru monkola  
Joyo namo dari gito mu garba kole dia onurgala..

e kole dia onurgala  
e sanja kole kurei pul,  
dan moga ! kolei moga !  
e kole dia onurgala .

porbota porbota saia porbota sangasana mali e nondaparo  
tanko namo dari gito mu garba amo kole bye koro.  
debota asone pulara lala juar dartaia mali  
manca monkolore debota yete  
goti goti koni kolei kete

purbe bibisone debota tife  
pote kole kole debota eie  
suri golek sumu  
roka kondoni dindandukula ago rojagato bima.

gotake pandoi atake esta	
ame guaribu debi debota	ame guaribu kake
amo gile ace dakein bui	ame guaribu take
lato go-o tole juar kole	gito koni dendi moka.
coka coka panai nui gurula	
mo kole kole sarula	

debi asopore bijuli la koleira koni dia  
borokua amor gi-kupake cernaia iia iia.  
lobi o bondu,

garba kindri suna kano feri goomule gajagabon  
gole ga boke sata garba potore lekala por.  
lobi je...

ga ga more guako rotong ga tebe suni deku  
pola aia podo pitigale kagay potore leku.  
lobi o bondu .

ga o komoi kandi kaka bawo bau kole kagamoti  
pilabelor ki bodu mator kas gao kaka goti goti  
lobi o lobe.

pilabelor ki kindri lo gito kindri je gito  
dindabele koribar bolidele dindabele koribar to.  
bawo manli julike juli e kungu bawo buli buli  
pilabelor kas gito sikoti caka deki esokeli...lobi o...

## CAKNA

['cakna' may be taken as refrains of 'kindri' songs. While composing songs instantaneously, the composer takes any object that comes in his view to open or conclude a topic. The object referred to may be sometimes significantly connected with the topic. Even if it be unrelated, it reveals the sense of beauty, humour and wit of the composer. Some selected refrains are given below.]

gamari gac ke celi piṭa  
jap ken goti beṭa

I polished the 'gamari' tree to make a wooden seat, count on the pebbles as you mutter the name.

mun lago nai kakti sage  
rāpti cāmkā lago.

There is no salt in the cucumber. Curry, he teases and pinches.

sini potar sulu dānā  
mo pake roile sinā.

You made a cup of 'sini' leaf, what is there unless you stay with me.

dan kaṣigaba ekia dā  
mū: tā beṇṇiya pila

The single sickle is cutting paddy, I am the single youngman.

kai enamisa e beṭ batā  
pam gale nō: corā

How polished is this cane stick; one can not ignore it for life.

kari beta tole cunor kua  
sarda oṭ: mui

The lime quarry is beyond the salty land; I would be pleased ..

lāgini sinā: puṭā: loh  
pode ale kata kō.

The 'sinā' is blooming cheerfully, please tell me a word.

tor pili baṣe dutara bon  
gurali oṭ: mon

The 'dutarā' forest is behind you, my mind only worries for you.

sandi buṭa tole kabṭa gure  
jōṇam sula e mō: pure

The dove is singing under the 'sandi' bush, we are born in this mortal world.

purni potar tol tolā  
toke mor mon bolā

The 'purni' leaf is anong, I loved you at the first sight.

kamula ropili gohor kato  
mal gala porboto.

I planted a pumpkin in the cow-dung-pit, the creeper went up to the mountain.

julanya am mare kabot  
sabo koman bove abot

Throws songs at the hanging mangoes, saheb officers are strict

makor juona sorog male  
upore sorog patal tae

The monkey swings in the 'sargi' creeper, the heaven is above, the hell below.

jai lagail sukta kaje  
suliya bosi ace jekna kase.

Kindled fire with dry woods, Sa'ya is sitting on the supporting post

at ia dongor no ia jola  
to mon oile mo mon ela

Eight mountains and minesprings, if you agree I too agree

oska badla moska kama  
bondur mon-ke badla para.

Light is rain, bright is sun, my friend seems to hurt at heart.

jipri panike bal bicol  
sye putr pul ela sakal.

Drizzles make roads slippery, the flower that bloomed in the evening stayed till morning

omi am goce julna deti  
umder lagi galagali

The stems hang from the little mango tree, For you only there is so much furor,

batni poter baria goba  
ekta rede soba

The soots are coming out of the 'batni' leaf, it is nice to stay single.

soru pita bedh pol-la goce  
mor men mesa ace.

The little bitter-brinjal plant bear fruit, I have a mind too in you

aca lipila bejar jpa  
kalya mali tojn cipa

The field is swampy and dampy; the black neck-ace is tight on the neck.

cangal buna seliya tute  
cuti e cabla uru.

The weaver made such a cloth that could not protect even the buttock

lun am punja punja  
am baraje dangi punja nati moh pul kanya

A lot of mango in bunches, we have lots of girl and lots of flower at our back-yard.





15. Siri poroboto bunis na  
 qoli bondoi dia meona hai  
 kokoti ungla gu  
 dudu kailar paj
16. Gato kandi kandi kadom gao  
 aki mardele komane poan  
 betare adrang: mao  
 ato sagare aao.
17. Kahinga rajiro sanga panis  
 kosara jori ki lagi bosih  
 kasa bandi tau cari kasa  
 kosara upre jori  
 eo maso tibe juri.
18. Ene bailipata ene Nandopuro  
 pacile amke dat raita  
 majure lagici tola  
 kica am boyo mite.
19. Jalare maris jla harengo  
 jenc gole babu tomari eto  
 jwono maris beto  
 marigiba kota aao.
20. Poto colu colu poto boiri  
 tomo lagi babu nti bolana  
 gare gole sirgoma  
 danda bato ela muma.
21. Asilare gati u maris bari  
 ato ana jabu tikoro kaja  
 sejopuro jla eni  
 jibu be e deio cari.
22. Rata rata kandi jolokadandi  
 kasa bandibaku condono peti  
 baromasi copakari  
 aaohe mali kori
23. Nini amo gao bimoro jala  
 dui sora pulo konojigala  
 tai nago sapa mala  
 bonduro giano mola.
24. Pora mao potafili  
 mas hapanku je utro keli  
 jla mao jialli  
 toro sanga rei goli
25. Sopuro suta mangila e gata  
 topala patuke goya duto  
 ato ke juaro goya ke pani  
 naputai bit bota  
 ingisa aru duka,  
 pito dukaro mana.
26. Teru kaja kasa keboto bapa  
 tomo beke mali amo beke mipa  
 ota mase puti jona  
 koromo kopala ralle aua.
27. Sora sukua ke mununa nati  
 kopale tesile keati mihio  
 sotulero kudo haji  
 loka rodo gote oai.
28. Aladu ranga poradesa sanga  
 bifiia monuso kuseila pulo  
 sobu dine tibo nai  
 perapota jibo nai.
29. Teneio amoro ame to tomoro  
 tate karitib golaro hato  
 ke nai dno poro  
 mote no karo duro
30. Berka budito butaro cai  
 bapa dela gore no jai mui  
 mono mola paj  
 pessa dandore mono goia gori tomoku asiba paj
31. Amo Nandopuro raita singasano korote kaja kumo  
 sundara kojole keuti mihio ja kori dela jama.



46. siri porobote gwi moruu      gidoaj ciuci joni  
mora dia mungo soji jani      fikola katake susu
47. Kokoja mulqa jidajo balaja      majire bosai ato  
koja cuta gwi bandili moto      kai pai noifus belo.
48. Salaguro mal-burufa      tãire ikoja tafi  
tome gini dela koja moto      babu olapo darifu oji
49. Dongoro mariti eka: cira      kandulo ka la cojei kira  
jono ja, kori jono udula      lagila mungo sira  
mungo s:rai gore moratbu      kene no guola para  
aji tibi tibi: kati ke tibi      torao gori cari kene no jibi
50. Amo khemnduguta solapo goe      solapo solapo baso  
bado bara ajo koboro debi solap      katbake aso
51. Suri porobote langa hetobari      coito porobe dat  
kaj mate bahu jibu be bauri      e para soroda caji
52. Tini poisar lekono kari      dui poisaro cili  
rai saego ato koboro dele      budobaro no pili.
53. Amo khemnduguta re eunoro goro      upore sama palia  
tume ame sina gila bulile      milibo poti batia.
54. Gai tui kosi mojai saje      gajo jase baje  
jibono porano kadi jasi      baburo kuo korate.
55. Puri mariga, kene ki keneki      atola cogia ene  
ari di dino raibu tene      juri morijibu ene
56. Amo khemnduguraro ongo ponaso lãca katigole lagiba copo  
pocile malis kasa  
poroboto para karili asa      krape delo badi borasa  
amo khemndugutare pakna nai      gitke cakna nai
57. Co kaja cuulo no kosa pari      nokire s jori bato  
amo babu doro nonta uola beie      mari dela jara lato.
58. Gatore burili jubika marili,      podare bauri tapu pili  
kumaro gituci dabi,      lake ele bari jibi,
- gore gajo gaja danda simjona      lake ele bari jibi,
59. Gatore burili jubika marili      jicili baso ka,  
kene jiasabe alo golape      e para soroda caji.
60. Garia mayili garia doli garia uplo nai      kai dane babu bueno dela muola cocolo nai
61. oldi batili kodot, pote      pama genil ate  
amo dakotero babu aisi boli      yugaci ndobat.





86. Manŋa ɕəŋgəre hoŋŋa kata ɕim deŋa maŋ kapu  
 conekər laŋ boŋe ɕəŋpəɕə ɕəŋa gale nai bapɔ  
 ɕəru maŋa boli nɔ kər ɕa  
 ɕəŋgə maŋ para jala.
87. Jəŋma am pəŋa leti kəhɔŋa dənɔ mɔŋo pəŋi  
 ɔdiko deŋe kəŋi  
 ɔma pɔŋaŋ ki ɕəŋgə jule  
 aŋdali dənɔ kəŋe.
88. enur dənɔkɔ aŋla buko- ɕal maŋ kai jule loko  
 cakunɔŋa ɕəŋgə kəŋa jəŋmɔ ɕəŋa barunɔ ɕəŋdɔ  
 ɕəŋi gini babu buŋgə laŋla  
 ɕəŋi deŋa tənɔr dənɔŋe.  
 ɕəŋe sɔna jəŋe kəŋɔŋa babona  
 pəŋe sɔna jəŋe buko  
 nɔŋɔla lok-ke boŋe mo ɕəŋi  
 kəŋe jəŋaŋbɔ duko  
 amɔr duk-dənɔŋa dənɔ jəŋe kai pəŋaŋa apa jəŋe  
 pəŋaŋa apa kəŋɔŋe jəŋe kəŋɔŋe aŋa sənɔ.
89. Kəŋɔŋi sənla barɔ kəŋɔŋa pəŋi  
 mɔŋɔŋgəre hoŋgəŋi  
 ɕəŋgəla boli maŋa nɔ kəŋa  
 mɔŋɔŋgəle ɕəŋa gəŋi  
 pəŋaŋaŋi ɔt ɕəŋi pəŋi  
 boŋɔŋe deŋɔŋi boli
90. Səŋu ɕəŋi ɕəŋi gəŋi la ɕəŋi deŋa ɕəŋe pəŋe  
 e para boŋa ɕəŋi nɔ maŋa kəŋi jəŋmɔ ɕəŋe  
 aŋe beŋ beŋi ɕəŋɔŋe təŋe  
 ɕəŋa beŋɔ jəŋa beŋe  
 dənɔŋaŋɔŋ ɕəŋa sɔna  
 aŋe tɔŋa ɕəŋa kəŋe.
91. Aŋe tiki moŋi jəŋaŋa boŋi ɕəŋɔŋmɔŋi luŋa aŋe gəŋi bɔŋe ɕəŋa pəŋa  
 bɔŋe pəŋaŋe maŋaŋi aŋa tənɔ ɕəŋe maŋa moŋa  
 bəŋa pəŋa deŋi pəŋi aŋi nəŋaŋa boŋe ɕəŋa.
92. ɕəŋe pəŋe suŋ ɕəŋi ɕəŋi kəŋi ɕəŋa  
 kəŋi boŋe rəŋaŋa deŋi moŋɔŋ ɕəŋi  
 ɕəŋi pəŋaŋa tənɔ ɕəŋa  
 ɕəŋaŋa kəŋa babona.
93. Aŋi la ɕəŋgəŋe nɔ la jəŋa tənɔ maŋ ɕəŋe mo maŋ ɕəŋe  
 aŋaŋi ki pəŋe pəŋe  
 aŋgəŋe upəŋe kəŋa pəŋe mo maŋ ɕəŋe maŋ  
 gəŋa pəŋi jəŋe beŋi nəŋe  
 ɕəŋaŋi bɔŋe pəŋe.

94. Cort masore bajor baja  
konar, bejar kai turunga  
gobar bejar munja  
rati sara sri elar bele gaksia kukuja ganya  
dasa dinor rija bejar  
munj cagala soe rjar  
pani mare jir jira  
to para goraki karle duro kapal pañsi mora,
95. qanqake du, una danke kaso  
bodo sunbon maso  
suta keli para bocan dele amo gae cone aso  
jai koji rebi kadul bone  
etu kora mone mone.
96. am kolab porboto kaji  
indrabati songe nolibu saji  
dameke marili jaji  
tome pajala kila muguni sobu kaila cdi  
telenga mavija jonok jata  
tome becar e kata.
97. soragi komone kade mona  
deki gora dano amo doryena  
kosi tikol kata  
guta gru misa kolera sago karle lagi peta  
aki kalo kalo na re jalo  
tomo dorynake cja
98. Jipri panike bato bicolo  
soje puli puji ele sokolo  
jiri poriboye tole  
  
rasika bouca rasta nai puli diti basu ele  
zuto may saro ei soro no paka makta jale
99. malar nao ramanaru dal mul kai qengore na  
madare no muse sei  
mou o, se bijar putra misai deketi moi  
tomo monaku ada casadei gaurar dot nai.
100. corni gaeke bpa kaka  
no reba lok-ke enja doka  
kata kribake je tikuka  
upore sudor tole tokika  
sobake se jini par  
tome bañu dano bore catur panile mo koro dara.



## A Ballad 'Kotni mala'

ana nendapar gangasani gata sorbeti deula a o  
 codon malike munde bola kauri dongor kauri kauri  
 ar kotani malare neta

oi jiber dano masakhorano na ne sobu dano, lobu o .  
 pa unga dongor tu unga kola ar kotoni malare neta  
 tar san boum dan kutiti soda kutiti soda... ..  
 tar bo bai aa sida je dekila sida lo dekila  
 tar san boum lajo lo oila lajo je oila.....  
 lagapata dari oragoni neta oragoni neta

babu dujamae poti mola bolideh....

tar bor bai jai cenji je darila..

serenji buta oigala bolideh. .

duuma duuma cingili je gala

bonja dese jato kola kundodona bonja dese jato kola.

(Balaram Mudli, Semla)

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## A Song—

katar katar bai buudu  
 surjo surjo meri galila  
 ke sudi kija kae lo  
 ke jorana kae

katar bag ke dei poribu  
 surjo bai ke cin pakaabu  
 ame sudi kija kae

iti soruguna beji to noe  
 sudi to pokori kaci to noe.. .

(Balaram Mudli, Semla).

## Nursery-Songs

am aila dale male poton aila cere  
 sobar pilake dale male golir pilu kole  
 kangu-bat ridli sira sudi kudar joi  
 tamar boi ana-ke aibe sira moke bou bol  
 bou bou bolsu sira uje bou nas  
 tin nake mudi gube kagla tebe bou bol  
 poton tola juu sira atale  
 nakia duma cabaiba sira tor kapale  
 duka duka bolu sira gawe  
 tati pava dari souu sira sale

lat bda marbi sija toke  
mut mut dekra s.a. a moke

poter tola jua pila das d'ongor toke  
bag mama duli aoe k'oson g'ocer toke  
ka a pila soi aoe dal bula r'osai  
kann d'akra dekla  
pamra oi mola  
podai podar mai-ceb mola  
b'ogek mara m'igbo-r gi like

tongo-ai bebi dela  
manghi-ai bebi dela

ori ori bol re d'umri ram ram bol  
aija aija re d'umri jai ja jai ja ...

aya to gala k'ada-kale boba to gala doli male  
doi re babu doi doi

tor baba gala usa usa anai gug a musa  
tor aya gala joi joi anai mimi loti loti  
doi re babu doi doi

kumja male ro boba semi male ro  
togo abu gala aoe kak a-ke  
ani cabu deisi tor d'umri nake-bobo.....

tonor aya gala aoe mac-ke  
ani kuai deisi tor polai pei-ke-bobo .

—'saroli' ga—

['saroli' songs are of very recent origin. Unlike 'kindri' songs it was first composed by some local poet who is now forgotten. The evidence of language and tune support this view. But the original composition has been much corrupted and at present it has taken the real colour of folk-songs,

ayi adiare k'uli jono kebba kebba mona ni  
uniar sai bale ao re jono c'ei debi c'ondono je  
sai go sai guruna molipulo beona je jarpulo basona  
akoro sakoro

cati gale pila juri moribo daki nebo songoro  
sai go sai julona molipulo je

terda bato ki bodohi bato ke bundaula pond'a  
ape suma ran. leri pa'ula yeteki danii d'inda  
sai go moro sai ro babona nas go

lindi jet mase hemo guluguli kore toraso  
amo kuai b'ore d'anta danii pul-g'aba deki jiba  
sai go

bundagon masor k'uli jono kore je jiri  
man'ore cati p'ire poua bau mare ran ran  
sai go

osa masor mamu ana cautor kumu, a dalar saga  
kale kusu benja pila carita dangi soage

sā go...

me lonka pul kaboy dela bale baupuli mola  
soregi dantiñ kandi tanga kuo kuo para lage

sā go.

sindi koi kav kav kaka koi kav kav  
kasbake koi nō roile mureli gi gaa

sā go.

esur cait porob boye sarada amo gre kando buba  
toma gre ace bala maso kabake mugo boja

sā go.

ene duna tene duna paeila tedi duna  
ani porobote paika jujile kandiñ sobod sunu  
sā go bole sā ro babona nai go...

### Marriage-Songs

1. [Songs sung by the boys of groom's party for teasing the girls of the bride's village]

piri kulu kulu moira, pari kulu kulu  
kopa bu, i bosu ace congi markulu  
ila bawki re moira, ila bawki  
bena luga oyi ace batre lengut  
kosem poika moira, kosem poika  
manduriya dani, unon-ke pila gudguda  
biri pulani moira, biri pulani  
nako kon puk moira ila julani  
caul colku re moira, caul colku  
konya potar dani, unon-ke munde ukumu  
dumri ludluda re moira, dumri ludluda  
konya potar dani, unon-ke pila gudguda  
lepor lepor kan re moira, lepor lepor kan  
konya buti san oile tar maa-ke an  
turiya pol re moira, uturiya pila pol  
sarasarani nalle tar uyake bosu bol  
kandul poruga re moira, kandul poruga  
konya potar dani, unon-ke pila roteriga  
e denger lok moira, se denger lok  
kaje cagi dek moira kon dangi nako

### 2. Miscellaneous

kata ku i rangali camja tulali  
golek yi ceta gni lurka mocali  
ai lo lo loi sa  
ai ai bolusu kale kopasu  
banabaga gni dele boloi bolusu  
ai lo lo loisa kale kopasa  
banakadi gni dele boloi bolusa ..

## Proverbs, aphorisms and haunts

titr upre puram tor kata mai jani  
[I know what you say it is only to fill in more and more]

jotr mor potir penja-gor julahe manja oja  
[A bunch of useless leaves ! Millet-padding for the son-in-law who lives  
in the father-in-law's house]

dukor upre teena  
[To hit one who is already hurt]

bauke pand oja  
[To set trap to catch the wind]

ida upre puram-jen dela darani  
[To fill in more into a filled up thing is to flare up the fire]

langri munje anji tebe nai  
[The pot never sets on a bald head]

tor boron ke toke  
[Your complexion is yours,]

amoi mai ke gomoi banja  
[Like wife like husband]

anji upre te, oja  
[Disorderly stacking of pots is no good]

tor katake-mor manja jalake  
[To your words-my millet mill-stone !]

moia poce dela goce-take aka nau ace  
[Although he died of hanging on a tree, he left a name indeed]

chli ale moli ale sunba  
[Even the ants and flies would listen,]

kata dei kata jila para-kaba balne dui biela para  
[To break a promise is to throw dust into the eating bowl.]

munjke byai kurake kui gor ?  
[After drenching the head why care to protect the heels]

kaia anji muto nau  
[He (miser) does not even urinates on a wounded finger]

ju capia para kata  
[His words hurt like fire]

poi kara cekuiba  
[I shall bake your back in the sun (to drag to village-court)]

sunu gagie maci bosasia  
[He set flies on a spotless body]

cogie nebake ierake-bilai mta turake  
[The squint-eyed helps the cut-eyed dwarf to climb up]

sugake sudi bunsu  
[You are making a rope for the needle]

tar daya-mor koyu  
[I am at his mercy]

sale poi roale to, tar-gare lok roale and, to, tar  
[If there are cows there will be sound in the shed, if there are persons there will be sound in the cooking pots.]

suna jusu-enor nai tenor nai moke komsu  
[You come and go, you have nothing to talk about but to growl at me]

got alle gund nan-mandru sijalle dit nai  
[When the guests come we don't have flour, if we prepare a cake they don't have teeth.]

sapke mari dui fan-musake fangek  
[Strike the serpent twice and the mouse only once]

dans mared bonu.  
[The weakly one is the strongthly one]

pata ku,ai basi roibi bag beji kau boh  
[Should I sit in a broken house awaiting a tiger to come and devour me]

culi nai rida-daxie goia bida  
[There is no oven for cooking, but a horse is maintained nevertheless]

doge ar bag no oy, mardo ar ukm no oy  
[Will there be no tigers in forest and lice in hair]

cei gutgut bo,si kata-boro lok-ke bor bata  
[The lion's share is always for the rich people;

caike dokai beike marle oisi ?  
[To strike at a shadow is but to hit on the ground]

am kai laku jola  
[To offer the stone after eating the mango]

musa potai lej kansi  
[To eat the tail of a roasted rabbit]

curake gur podna

[The parched rice needs to be punched with molasses !]

ate dei kane kosar tebe ois-sutake suthi lomaile ois

[With an offering in hand speak into the ear, as for lengthening the thread  
unwind the rope]

moake dekaı baıke kousı.

[It is not proper to point at the posts while talking to the fence]

botor pamke potor cota

[The leaf-umbrella is good for only drizzles]

desaı ois-bise dula

[The innocent natives cling to the soil]

ila dari ur kalbake kası gor ?

[With sickle in hand why be afraid to reap]

tipe ron burde burusa, seıe serenda kanda

[Whose tip is red and root is floppy, that is the best tuber]

sıur panıke muarı sıe.

[For crisp cooking little water is best]

gafe rıı sıe dekaı podai moli meıgıı

[Inside the river it exhibits its prowess, but parys for mercy when out of it]

talı baırı rııı sına, jalı baırı rııı kı ?

[A blunt broom shall remain while a flowery one is weathered]

caı sıı baı sıı

[He does not have land even for the shadow]

muıla bag sına dari kası, kandı bag kası kı ?

[A growing tiger does not bite.]

lakla kafeke munde marla para

[It is like hitting on the head of a tired hare]

baı sagke kutıı kase sına, jıkı kase oıı ?

[One should not pull out the leafy-vegetables but pick up only the leaves]

tor mone kı mor kane kı

[When you think in your mind it rings in my ears]

sınake suagı ruıake leıegıı

[Gold is loved while silver despised]

gaıke dan,ı baı-ke malkıı.

[A village looks lovely with young boys as a forest with monkeys]

çokri gale oldi gös-dasni para çise

[The old lady is smearing turmeric on her cheeks to appear like a girl]

ru iia tel iia-dunagya kandeç diu.

[To stand here and there for begging a bit of tobacco]

kata kelu-catu kindras dolo.

[What more you did than churning with a ladle ?]

p tal mudike net. mājona-seuta goror nui gajona

[As the brass ornament gets a rubbing everyday so we get a nagging in the richman's house.]

ponas potar dona, nana kar rela nobat pona, bou cati rela dona

[The cup is made of jack-fruit leaf, the brother had a sweet drink, the sister-in-law licked the cup only]

çin бага lua kamar göre, çin bagasla ma-babu göre

[The broken iron implements go to the smith, she broke away and went to her parents]

onça munda kapale-sonda aila sakale

[A ball of millet-pudding is in his luck if my friend comes early in the morning]

## RIDDLES

Kāca kae kaceli, pacla kae cali

e bakna na kalc maru calpa. (sundi-koli)

(The green ones are eaten as whole, the ripe ones are skinned, if you can't tell this riddle I shall give you a slap. sundi-berry)

bap iia oi rasi, poo mayo kōrs. (pipol)

(Father is standing, sons are juggling.—Banyan tree)

guru iia ei rasi, nio buli asi. (bitom)

(Preceptor is standing, disciple is roaming.—Ant-hell)

je je bakri patalo gara, e bonastro ke donu daru. (salim)

(Who in this forest lives in a hole and is armed with bow—Peregrine)

ji embri, ma sundri. (cikni)

(Daughter is irritating, mother is fair—A type of grass.)

er nola mass (sindi-kira / (at)-gobinda)

(Which meat is boneless—A kind of worm)

gojek çokri putek luga. (losun)

(Which old-lady has several clothings.—Garlic)

gotek çokrı anrı canıbeiti mutsı (mula-panı)

(Which old-lady urinates all around the house —Rain water from the eaves)

kub.: balu, yaıke belu. (ila)

(Which hunch-back bear pushes away water Sickle)

bakna ıo bakna, haı gu cakna (mıa)

(What a riddle, the iron feces is for taste. —Salt)

panı çobçoba mançek jobu

toi pul puje kepek soba. (dıp)

(In a pool with knee-deep mud and water when the flower blooms that looks very nice.—Lamp)

suta para lemsi, muta para boı-si. (at)

(What stretches like thread and salslike jar —Market)

sika baje ken benda baje kesi

goie munçai bandı aıe bar munç mousı (ançı)

(Twelve buffaloes are tied to one pole.—Pots carried by a carrying staff)

bııır gale bııır boıulu

gun noıte puıga boıulu (çım)

(I set a fishing trap on the water way, I roasted in a leaf-cup without salt —Egg)

cam tuma purarı, baıs buıai çukulu (tırı)

(I kept the skin inside a gourd-case and slept in the bamboo bushes.—Mat made of bamboo strips)

tunja monus ke goie got. (semli potır)

(One leg only to three persons.—Silk-cotton leaf)

dıs got dıs nıyon pıc munç tar cırı jıbon (mola mousı)

(Which man has ten legs, ten eyes, five heads and four lives. Dead body carried by four persons.)

asılı tu dıııırothı boıulu kote

tin muk dıs got dıkuı ki baje (kısıbe ol)

(So you came Dasarath and sat on bed, did you see that with three faces and ten legs on the way. —Plough)

sorag panıke pıd o sı. (sılp)

(To set trap for the water from heaven.—Salap-wine)

kolınkı rııır mousı, sıı darle dıd deııı (sılp)

(The buffalo of the king of Kalkı age gives milk if caught at the horns.—Salap-wine)



uk lagu lagu ingais

ʔad deki deki puraisi. (mali getba)

(He first straightens up with sašiva, then finds out the hole to insert.—  
Making garland of beads).

kolka podae cipa nace. (ib)

(A slice of a thing that dances between the cliffs. —Tongue)

gotek majike tita cutaf. (cul)

(Which lady has three buttocks.—Oven)

upre cikna botre kisa (dumri)

(What looks nice outwardly though the inside is rotten.  
—A kind of fruit called Dumri).

gotek lok gulas rat. dekas (jon)

(Who is the man that keeps looking throughout the night —Moon)

pala besi roisi, ma kindersi (kumar cok)

(The child is sitting while the mother is moving around.—The potter's  
wheel)

degi majike singe dad (solop)

(The tall lady has milk in the horns.—Salap tree)

gotek maji kete lok-ke tia korsi. (ba)

(A single lady keeps twenty men stand by —Fencing)

ʔi aoe moji, nai jiki tople je nai (cuti)

(What has got stem but not seed and it does not live if transplanted  
—Mushroom).

gotek maji atke nasa. (bani)

(Which lady is adorned by hand.—Broom)

bund rotka pul carka kalle reso, mon-ke aro

goc potota poter lama kate reso, man-ke aro (dungiya)

(Whose bush is red, flowers are flat, when eaten satiates the soul.—  
Tobacco).

sousema srebena, moji kai copa bana. (modur kanda)

(Eat the kernel, sow the skin.—A kind of sweet root)

upre cata para, tole muta para. (sarukanda)

(What has a top like an umbrella and a bottom like a pot. A kind of  
tuber called Saru).

polopre bilmoia moyonore kala

epara sundori bees jato kala. (gunpr mali)

(With such blood-red complexion and deep black eyes, who created this  
beauty in the forest.—

papal potar solale, jifka danti gae tole (mone)

(Banyan leaves shiver in the breeze, the dazzling dandel is there under the tree.—Chilli).

rajn puri buk aih, bakti gago( cavi) aih. (koj)

(I wandered throughout the world and left crooked marks of the body.—Foot-prints).

munq noila rajn, sok noila montri

dud noila gai, gor noila gour

aki noila deksuki.

(Headless king—Crab, throatless minister—Turtle, milkless cow—Frog, legless cow-herd—Snake, eyeless person—Leech)

ai gundica mondoi sap gocke aragoa nai

kaake gour golan kolus kondek gobor nar. (ai)

(The snake encircled the tree but left no stain. Oh, cow-herd, you assembled your cows here but not a bit of dung is found.—Mar ket)

itila nini coei palika( bise)

palika( bang) gale pataie dose (so pana)

(The little bird sits on the tender stems of grass, when the stem is broken it falls down on earth.—Dewdrop).

soru soru cili okaria mafi

arogpurra ban marie lanka jibo palu. (borsa pani)

(The tiny little ant is scooped out earth, when the skydwellers shoot even Lanka gets ruined.—Rain shower).

so so sagor bali

kaliya go(ake) barfote jani. (cata)

(The black horse is to be pulled from a side.—Umbrella)

apur sutu gojo mukuta oole bokol nai

tonde kaidele ras bor jibo, sare se pol nai. (kara pakna)

(What is that heavenly fruit which has very thin veins, no roughage or rind and looks like a pearl full of juice—Haul Stone).

goc deg deg potar soru

tar pila jila bakti geru. (tenthi)

(Trees are big, leaves are small, their children are hunch-backed dwarfs.—Tamarind).

oro oi potar bi( har) tenti

sinar mukul rupu denis. (kodli)

(Whose leaves are large, sproutings are like spears, the head-dress is made of gold and the handle is of silver.—Plantain).

iri iri kania kadaman bas

o bakna no kaila co co mas. (panda)

(What smells so nice though its body is thorny, if you can not tell this riddle serve me for six months. Jack Frost.)

iri gofa nira cojal dua epek pei

kai jasu niri cojai rajagor bel. (guk)

(So small, is the bird its belly is like a spoon. Where do you go bird, to hunt for the king—Cairige Bullet.)

utna gor danti pinas

monus poiri maiji pinja. (parua)

(In the up-turned house which has uneven veranda, the male lives like a pregnant lady and the female like a man. —Dove)

kata koi koi roket kusi. (hatsunja)

(Who drinks our blood while talking.—Dragon fly)

iri iri dabri, pul pule kabri. (parika)

(Little little things like flowers.—Coins)

jotek ai golek soa

(Two bullocks with one neck. Bellows)

eku dokra garobe dot. (dādor)

(Which old man has teeth in the abdomen. Drum shaped fishing trap)

at ta got nō la mandā jal pakāi ace coiaa may. (poi mākai)

(The fisher-man who has set the net has eight legs and nine knees. —Spider)

don leiya gorenja, pan, breire munā gunja (kōsira dor)

(What is that long-tailed thing that dips face into water Rope used for pulling water from well.)

ale gali bāle gali, bāle bethi dān

soba jontake jorek jorek kan,se jontake golek kan. (noli)

(I roamed about and picked up some paddy Each animal has two ears but one has only one. —Gua)

ron ron dū-si, lūn tin-le pos-si. (maric)

(What looks colourful but when enters burns the inside. —Chulā)

ai maija gondui cufa, marie marie arte uria. (gurna)

(Hammering and plugging with hand he went on beating and scolding. —A kind of drum)

ur bāi kori odraia dū ate dari jul-la (cuna baiba pakna)

(He first laid that flat on the ground, then holding with both the hands began to swing. —Grinding stone)

likra jaggre rabon gura

rangai an re jagannath bura (panas sorge ukas dekha)

(In the bushy mountain there is the vulture's nest, oh old Jagannath,  
you drive them out. -Combing for lice.)

bek bosi aye dait ke dait, bokni bosu aye eka

e bakna jebe na kaile lagu ca kori jeka. (dēt ar jib)

(The egrets are sitting in a row, the she-egret is alone if you don't  
tell this riddle, pay six crores to me -Teeth and tongue)

roṭ (ṭiki up)ḥ boti ognar munde pai

e bakna na kaile barik gandī caī (rabon)

(The gullet is red like a bright light, head is fiery with silken tuft, if you  
don't tell this riddle lock the barber's body. -Vulture.)

ron ron la buja la

jī ke cati panī ke cati sob ke uia la (baram)

(The dwarf fellow is red in colour Except fire and water that does not  
care anyone else. -Ant-hill.)

sikar upre silki, gugur munde sād

kōar upre nann bōi, jiba purus ke bād. (Modirāḍm)

(In the complex trap with knots and joints, check the passage of the  
outgoing man. -Liquor distillation.)

kor kōi gar bass buja ar. (ciki)

(The current is strong, whose bones are like bamboo bushes—Grass  
hooper)

lepia kaja kōm mōi, tin-la liri cō la siki (ai betad)

(The hunch-back is preparing soil, which has got three buttocks and six  
eyes. -A man and plough.)

gai pakaila ar, ar pakaila beci. (ḥm)

(The cow delivered only bones and from the bones a baby was born.  
—Egg.)

ok jaggre bek mōla, suai (jā)gre bas kōla. (panas)

(The egret died in a far off forest, but it smells in Suai forest. -Jack-fruit.)

Kolin rajr sikh, dari mar kōi jiki (siggani)

(There is a hook of the king of Kalinga which I pressed and pulled. -  
Drawing mucus from nose.)

nake panī kairi, goṭe punḍi. (bus)

(What drinks water through nose and inhales through leg. -Bus.)

potula kākia goce cōgi. (langjan)

(The roasted crab climbs the tree. -Ant.)

siri parbate bich hyn, beti kaiba lok-ke deka dia. (tara)

[I scattered parched rice on the mountain, showed them to pick up and eat.  
Stars.]

snan boyen eka. (jamila)

[Whose bathing and dining is done simultaneously [A bird]

ek goiya paik, munj soila nark. (Cata, kamej)

[Who are the single-legged soldier and headless leader — Umbrella and shirt.]

pila bele cakka, bñ ele lekka. (bawa)

[What is tasteful in its infancy and gives support in its youth.—Bamboo.]

dobla kukua febn kan, kan-ke dan jukan. (mula)

[The white cock has hanging ears, pull it out by catching the  
ears.—Redish.]

agi bosla jira munda, bñre posla lenda. (mula)

[The fellow having rough hair sat to defecate and the feces went below  
under ground.—Redish.]

eti rə re jura pila, mui jibi kosek duri. (gopana)

[You orphan boy, stay here, I shall go miles far —Slingshot]

kenangi gñor godbouni munde rən pñl

ali juli jasi ace ood kosar bel. (kulur)

[The Gadba girl of kenangi village has red cloth on her head, she is walking  
in a swinging style the fourteen mile road —A bird/garud]

jiba sagor jaur rasi, gorke kundra potu rasi. (gar)

[While the moving cart moves on each house gets its share.—River]

alte capete, jaite capete. (kapal)

[A ship to go another to come.—Door]

mutek rāḡa kasi, ar upre deka. (kəḡki)

[What scoops out a handful and eats, then looks upward —Spade]

tura pda leje dor, jiku tani oi mər. (biti)

[The orphan is tied at the tail, It dies of being pulled and puffed. Biti/a  
smoke]

dei out, bel noma. (jəḡ lekka)

[You can give but can not pick up. Wall painting.]

Kenangi gñor mous, sange cara dari kasi. (kakra)

[The buffaloes of kenangi village catch and eat the prey with their horns.  
—Crab.]

kanengi gior mōsa, sin daric me kōsi. (baas kōrāi)

[The buffalo of kanengi village cries out if caught at the horn.—Bamboo] shoot (

baca roie gofe naḡ, mōri gale soeja naḡ. (baas)

[What is known by one name when alive and by hundred names when dead.—Bamboo]

mōnus nōe kī pokī nōe, dui gof kje. (cycle)

[Who being neither a human-being nor a bird is a bi-pod.—Bi-cycle.]

ai go apa, tucā cōpa, mōlas tōme, jīlu ame. (sap ar kati)

[Oh sister, you are merely the skin as you died so we lived.—The snake speaks to its skin]

pōdarajī godbonūke ania cari betti jē  
gote gote jē ke soe soe mōl. (pōtōi gac)

[The Gadba women of the plains have matted lock of hair around the waist and each lock has hundreds of knots.—A kind of tree.]

Ere re ek gotiya, dui gotiya kene gala

cari gotiya ke cari dei keri dōs gotiyake kosake gala.

[Oh one-legged, where is that two-legged fellow ?  
Leaving the four-legged one he has gone to the ten-legged.  
—Tiger asks umbrella about the farmer with plough.]

# **DESIA**

**A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT**

**SECTION-II  
DICTIONARY**

The Desia Lexical List contains 3000 entries, including the basic forms and their derivatives. In the Appendix names of some unidentified flora and fauna and some tag-words have been listed.

These items have been sorted out mainly from the body of the compiled Desia-Texts. Other, non-textual, items were collected in the course of filling up various standard lexical-lists (such as H. A. Gleason's Tentative Gloss List, 1959, Revised Munda Lexical List by David L. Siampe, 1963) and from random conversation and elicitation in the field.

The notes given at the end of the entries contain suggestions regarding the possible derivational origin and sources of borrowing and cognate forms from other languages and dialects for facilitating further comparative analyses. The following books and materials have been used to prepare these notes.

A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages

R. L. Turner, London, 1962-66

(Cognates from Indo-Aryan languages have been collected from this source. The hypothetical base-words have been noted with a view to suggesting an Aryan background for the Desia item-)

A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language,  
R. L. Turner, London, 1931

Desnamanala-Hemachandra, Ed. Fischel.

A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary

T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, London, 1961

Sora-English Dictionary

G. V. Ramamurti, Madras, 1938

Field Notes on Nabsit

S. Bhattacharya, Indian Linguistics, Vol. 17, 1957

Chattisgarhi, Halbi, Bhatri Bolon ka Bhasevagyamka

Adhyayana. Dr. Bhalchandra Rao Telang, Bombay, 1966.

Kudali

A. M. Ghatge, Poona, 1965.

The Parji Language.

T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, Hertford, 1953.

Phonology of Parji (Pre-Publication Draft)

Nancy Chrtek and Beth Morton, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Poona.

Segmental Phonemic Analysis of Halbi dialect. (Pre-Publication Draft)

Miss Betsy Schuyler and Miss Fran Woods

Summer Institute of Linguistics, Poona.

Segmental Phonemic Analysis of a Tribal Dialect of Oriya.  
(Pre-Publication Draft)



Alice Davis and Judy Eslick

Summer Institute of Linguistics, Poona.

Purnachandra Oriya Bhasakosa (7 Vols.)

G. C. Prabhara, Cuttack, 1931—40.

Sambalpur Dictionary. (Manuscript)

Dr K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack.

(Oriya dialectal words have been collected from the above two works.)

#### Explanation of Signs and Abbreviations.

<	derived from
>	becomes
/	alternate (Phonetic)
/	alternate (Morphemic)
?	doubtful
•	hypothetical
cp	comparable
opp.	opposite
A. E.	Alice Davis and Judy Eslick, op. cit.
Arb.	Arabic
Ar. D.	Coöperative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Langs. op. cit.
Beng.	Bengali
Bh.	Bhati
Ch. G.	Chattisgarhi
DNM.	Deenmamala, op. cit.
Dr.	Dravidian
Dr. D.	Etymological Dictionary of Dr. Langs.; op. cit.
Guj.	Gujarati
H.	Hindi
Hal.	Halbi
Kan.	Kannada (Kanarese)
Mar.	Marathi
Mal.	Malayalam
Mih.	Mithili
N.	Nepali
N. D.	Nepali Dictionary, Turner, op. cit.
Pers.	Persian
Punj.	Punjabi
Pkt.	Prakrit
P.O.B.	Purnachandra Oriya Bhasakosa, op. cit.
Sind.	Sindhi
Skt.	Sanskrit
T.	Tamil
Tel.	Telugu
O.	Oriya
S. O.	Southern Oriya
W. O.	Western Oriya

oia	other	oia
oera	circular cushion for placing pots	W O. oera, Ar D. oghera-circle.
ok—	to be jealous	S. O. oko-guilt, fault, crime Tel okokaga-quarrelsome.
ok-gen- oku-dok ok	to bear jealousy jealous man	Kharial-hok-envy, jealousy
oku-ka,— oku-laga,— ekar	to vomit by inserting finger, to dig out (with the hand	Ta oku-to open mouth, gape  Ar, D. ukorot. Pk. ukkara- digs out, Ta. okar-to dig, ex- cavate; Bh. okar, S.O. tendency of vomiting.
og—	to push into	DNM ogghobo-to fill, S. O. ongula-to thrust finger
ogol—	to be in excess, surplus	W O. to remain over, Kan. ogglo; Tel oggobmu.
ogte ju—	to live alone independently	cp. aeg-vandy, aegua-selfish obstinate
oja	habit	
otok—	to detain	Ta. otappu-obstruction, Ar D. otokk—
ola	greasy, gummy	Ar. D. otibo
oi	border	Ar D. opovito—oti (Guj, Sind) lap of cloth, tucked up part of cloth, Ta. oti-to flap, twitch, POB. pocket improvised from the folds of garment.
oij	lower lip	W.O. oih
oio	eighteen	
oior—	to roar	Ar. D. aroiti-shrieks Pk. arofo-cries out; O. oior bofar --incoherent talk
oiaui ji-ba	bullocks to go after cows for mating	W O. horus
o'ega	pickles, seasoned mango, neem	Tulu o'eggays-axid of pickle, Kan. ope-to season
oiaui—	to incline to a side	Ar. D. anomi-bends down, O. oiaui--

3. m	cave, hideout	Tel. <i>oḍu-a</i> screen, anything that affords concealment; cp. <i>Saṁ- oṭak</i> , <i>Munda-oṭa</i> , <i>Korku-urn-house</i> , <i>POB. oṭa-a</i> place where beasts stay.
oṭu	small wine-pot	Ar. D. <i>adbako</i> , O. <i>oṭa-a</i> pot for measuring corn or liquid.
oṭkōliya	inconvenient place	W. O. <i>oṭkōliya</i>
oṇḍa	pudding made of millet powder	Tulu <i>oḍḍye</i> -pudding, a cake.
oṭṭa	poker	W. O.
oṭṭana		
-dar,-lek	to prop up (living beings)	Ar. D. <i>entrogaga</i> -lower intestine O. <i>ontoga</i> 's
oḍ	half	<i>oḍḍo</i>
oḍ—	to fetch water from a flowing or falling source	
oḍ—	to refrain from	O. <i>roḍḍi</i> , <i>oḍḍu</i> — <i>oboruddho</i>
oḍi oḍa	to be impatient	<i>oḍḍu</i> ; O. <i>oḍḍi</i> -mental agony
oḍuk	more	
oḍua	crippled leg	<i>oḍḍo</i>
oṇa	cow's udder	Ar. D. <i>proṣaṇḍa</i> ; O. <i>poṇa</i> .
oṇar-kar,-ot	to torture	<i>hoṛaṭ</i> ?
oṇu	baboon	<i>hoṇu</i>
ma n-oṇu	entellus	
oṇek	many	
-oṇḍur	various	
oṇka	ladle (made of gourd for serving pe)	Tel. <i>oḍka</i> , W. O.; Skt. <i>oḍhaka</i>
oṇ—	to admit guilt	S. O. to confess one's guilt; O. up-to bear Ar. D. <i>opp—</i>
oḍḍaṇ	disobedient	
oḍka	whole, all, unmixed	W. O. <i>oḍga</i> ; Hafb. <i>oḍga—only</i> ; Mar. <i>oḍgha</i> whole <i>oḍghaṇa</i> , <i>oḍḍṛṭa</i>
oḍya lok	favourite	
oṇḍṛ	contentious enmity	O. <i>oṇḍṛ</i>
amurak	unfriendly	
oṇ-	to subside, decrease	O. <i>oḍṛ-hṛ—</i>
oṇṛ	to earn	

atəʃəʒəʃ—	to groan	Mar. orəʃ, Kadali. orəʃ O.kəʒəʃ Ar. D. uporəʃəʃ
arət	meaning	arəʃəʃ
-kariyā	interpreter	
arun:	deer	O. hərəʃ:
arka	large spoon	
arjəbali	rainbow	W. O. orəʃəʃ
ar—	to shave, lop, scrape	O. olag-i-alar Ar. D. ulloʃəʃəʃ —to draw out, unsheath
ar	plough	O. hətə
arjə	ploughman	
ar—pəʃəʃ	Holi festival	
arj—	to choke	Ar. D. uporudhyote Pk. sarugjəʃəʃ—obstructs, Parj. ulj—to assemble. W. O. oljəʃəʃ —to stick, check.
arəʃəʃ	to set (on eggs)	POB. ulhand—to wallow on ground, Ar. D. ulloʃəʃəʃ ulloʃəʃəʃ
arəʃ	insufficient	arəʃəʃ
arəʃəʃ	slow, lazy, late	
arəʃəʃ	to stretch limbs	
arəʃəʃ	lazy	
ar—	to be late	
ara	firebrand	Ar. D. hul—pierce; O. hula
ara—	to sway, wag	Ar. D. holəʃəʃ
ara	light (weight)	Skt. laghu; Chatsgerhu-olho
arəʃəʃ/uləʃ	wave	O. uləʃəʃ, Kharial-holke, Halbi- holk Dr. arəʃəʃ, uləʃəʃəʃ
arəʃəʃ	shiver	
arəʃəʃ	hanging cloth-rack	Ar. D. oləʃəʃəʃ M. I. A. aləʃəʃəʃ—adheres to; O. uləʃəʃəʃ
arəʃəʃ	different, separate	holəʃəʃəʃəʃəʃəʃ
arəʃəʃ	to separate	oləʃəʃəʃəʃəʃəʃəʃ
arəʃəʃ arəʃəʃəʃ	yellow	Ar. D. upodika Pk. oləʃəʃəʃəʃ; Bastar-orma, Halbi-orma.
arəʃəʃəʃ	soot	Ar. D. otəʃəʃ Pk. aləʃəʃ
arəʃəʃ	white ant	həʃəʃəʃəʃ
arəʃəʃ	linseed	
arəʃəʃəʃəʃəʃəʃ	guizotia abyssinica	
arəʃəʃ	duck	
arəʃəʃ	bag size	
arəʃəʃ	small	

os pans osk— oskal-	dew  to remove	Ar D. osvayya Pk. ossa, W O. os Pk. ussokko-goes back, ex- cised; DNM. osokki-gotte away, O. uskal-to uproot sorkal-to move; Ta. osokko- to move; Kol. ucg-to move slightly horizontally
osmda osor	naked heifer	Ar D. uposanya, H. osori, Halbi-osor, DNM. osoru.
oskol oskora	nasty	cp O. oska, Skt. apokora-faces
osguna osna	nose ornament eaves of roof	O. gura W O. uchna, Ar D. osvasona- slopping place Pull osana- end; Gondi-wesana-thatch, roof.
s-/sa-	to come	
ai-		
—pat	to yawn, sigh	
ait	care	ayetto
airom	wedding presents	
au	steam, vapour	O. han; Halbi-hap
auy	to bend, recline	Ar D. avayoyu-turns over benda opp. lek-to lift
auli-	noises	Ar D. arova-cry, howl; O. hauli
—kar	to roar	
ikor-	to sprout, gape	ankur
ak		
—mar	to shout, call	Ar. D. hokkoyoti; O. haka.
ako:	hooked pole	Ar D. ankula-instrument for moving the bolt of a door, O. aku
aka	one load of a kauri	Ar. D. oksa-axe, collar-bone.
—mara	one side heavy, un- balanced load	
akar	jealousy	
akriya	jealous	
akal	to wash clothes	O. hokal-
aki	eye	
akaya	evil-eyed	
kor	to cast the evil eye	
ak-pola	eye-lid	
mitk	to twinkle	

āki-got	ankle	
akpa	handle, holder, grip	Kumboni. ākut-handle of hoe.
ag		
agtu		
agari	first	
agot-	to come in front	
angua	to hinder, reprimand	O akot-Ar D. otjekk-
	armful, things carried	Kan. on-gry, Koda. ongay-
	in one folded hand	palm of the hand.
angra	charcoal	O. ongar
ma-a-agra		
anli	finger	
cimi-anli	little finger	
ac-	to be, to have	
aj		
ajai -	to lose, mislay	hr.
aji	to-day	
ai -		
aihi-	to coagulate, hard	Skt. otto-dried, Pkt. otjaj-
kor	to thicken	to become dry, O. antiba
āja	waist	Del.-to move
ai	high land	WO. ai-veranda, high land;
aiāi	land near river side	Ar D. otjaj-watch tower, terrace mound
ai	eight	
ai-din	week	
ai	market	O. hajo
aiā	cover (of book)	Tel. attā
aiu	atic room, loft under the roof	Skt. otto; Tel. attuka
aiu dan	ladder	
aior	barricade	O. ai Ar D. adi-row, ridge
aij	earthen pot	O. band
-darami	ceremonial change of pots	
-bau[abi]	bride's return to husband's home after marriage	
ai	bone	O. hajo
aioi	bony, useless	
ai-roa	marrow	
ai	half, semi	ordho; Tel. oio
ai-beia	afternoon	
aia	a unit of measure	Ar. D. aqhoko
	4 poi = 1 aia	

ai	to hinder, ward off	
aike	horizontal, across	Pkt. oqqa-crossing — oqqa Dr oqqa-state of being horizontal obstruction
aike dek—	to look sideways, blink	
aike pācia	Sari, for females	
ai	hand	
aiol	to touch, collide	
ai mai de-	to plaster	
ai aaga kor-	to wave hand, signal	
ata	handle	
ata	wife's mother	Dr. ata, Pkt otta, Ganjath. ata.
ati	elephant	hosti
ādan	steam	Ar D. adhamo-blowing, puffing; cp. POB udham/odham-water pot on fire for cooking.
ādar	dark	ondhokaro
adi de-	to lend land on share basis	ordho
an	cash	O. rapo ragnya, agnyao Ourha are taken in the name of king Kumason-an(vow)
an duria or-	to swear	
an	to bring	
ani dadi	great grandfather	
ani bai	grandfather	
antota	gap between the legs	
anti/atos		
poia	intestine, viscera	Skt. Antaro-entrail
antiu	back yard	Ar D. antaro, Ch. Garhi antoi.
api-	to throw raising to a height	Kudali-apot-to strike-clock while washing, Bh. apot; Hal. apt; Ar D. apototi-flies toward
aps	elder sister	Ar. D. oppa
abur	prestige, honour	S. O. aber , cp. Arabio-abru
am	mango	
amot	sour	Kudali-amboḥ, N amot-mango preserve; Ar. D. amravorta- inspissated mango juice.
amla		
am poia	mango pickles	
ama	grandmother	cp. Tel. ama
ame	we	
aya	mother	Bhiti, Halbi-aya
aryan	and (conjunctive)	oporo/apuro
ar-	to fall	
aru-	to defeat	har-

argot/argot	to pull, drag on ground	W. O. furgir-to drag by force
urgo:n	bar, railing for obstruction	S. O. orgals, Ar. D. orgods
urqa-pol	Adam's apple	horita pbol (myrobalan fruit)
arla	dirty, clumsy, uneasy	Ar. D. alutito-agitated, stirred
-kor	to irritate, torture	Ganjum-eira
aloj	to turn back, squeeze	Pa.ji-to be twined round
		W. O. to wave a fan, Ar. D. alo- dayot-stirs, moves.
alam-boji	pacnic	Ar. D. alambo alam is many M.I.
		A. meaning help, support.
alamala		
-ot	to move, not remain static-	
	nary	
aljul		
-ot	to move, not remain quiet.	
alia		
-ot	to be tired	Arabic-halek
alualad	affectionate	alhado
nie	then, if it is so	O hele
alki	fragile	op. balka
as-		O has-
asiya	to laugh	
asua	funny	
	laughing man	
asor-basor	(family) descendants	omso, bomso
asa	hope	
-kor		
asaf	June-July	
asar	bad person, false	opp. susar
asu	tears	
asul	right, correct	
-songe kor	to do correctly	Arb. osl
ast:	property	Skt. osti
aspatal	Hospital	
re	this	
itik	this much	
it	here	
k	strugy	
1-	to rind peel a fruit	W. O. hil-to be opened; released; Bh. hitay-, Dr. D-Ta. ito-to crack, scoop out, crumble; Tel. cdaya-to separate.
it	brick	
itia	oven made of brick	W. O. itali
i/p	boundary ridge	Skt. ali, O. hio



ind	to walk	W. O. hind Hal hîd-to wander Ar. D. himâle-moves, wanders
muspeli	Inspector	
ir	fibre, path of wood	Dr. D. -Ta ir-rib of palm, Mal. ind-rib of palm leaf W. O. ari-sting of insects. Bh (hori hori-green)
iri in	small	
ila	sickle	Bastar-ira, DNM ilo, Dr. ila; Nahali, Saora ira-to cut with sickle, Ar. D. ila-kind of weapon short sword; Mâr-ila-curved instrument, Kû-ir to cut grass; Sa, Mu, Ho-ir-to-reap
isa		
-kor	to envy	
isai	envious person	
ialiya	envious	
isel-	to envy	
isa-dugra	jealous	
-tutunga	envious	
istu		
-kor	to worship, honour	islo
stun	an iron (for pressing clothings)	O istri
ua	Diflusa Speciosa	Ar. D. uddalakô, bohuharô.
uati kôu	compound wall	Ar. D. apôghatayati-covers Pk. ohaçia , O. uhar-to screen.
uati-edar	dark half of month	omabasya
uki-	to boil (intr)	Pkt. ukkojo - heat utkoloci ; Dr. D. -kan. ugo, Tel. ukko - steam, vapour
ukal-	to vomit	Ar. D. -utkalô okk -
ukni	louse	ukniyo
ugt-	to sprout	O ugubha-to rise up with force udgoma.
ugsi ar-	to pull oneself up	(as in climbing)
ugsi- ugura -lonça	to open, uncover uncovered insolent	Skt. udghatô , DNM. ugga ; Kudal-ugaf
uc	high	
ucm-	to lift up	Ar. D. udhacati - raises

uck-	to get up, spring up	W O. ukche - to suspend ;
ucki mar-	to commit suicide by hanging	Hal. uok , Parji. uick - to swing.
ucka	excess (in cost)	
ucki	hucup	Hal. hucki ; Kudali - uckl.
ucob	festivity	
-kor	to rejoice	
ucol	to overflow, spill over	uccholano
ucal-	to vomit	Ar D. uochoredots - vomits
ucali ot-	to agitate, be excited	
uc-	to skin (e. g. fruits)	Ar D. uccatyote - separated from, uccaſyoti - undress, uncover ucar - to skin ; Hal. ucl- to peel off outside.
uc-	to bounce, strew with force, spill over violently	
ucal		
-kor	to rejoice	
-lag	to be excited	
ucar-	to carry a baby	ep. Parji. ucal - cradle
-uol	bright, light	
uga	right	Ar D. ſju - straight Mar. uja-
-ſena	right arm	right hand, Kudali. uj
ujar-	to remove thatching-to display, pour out	Pkt. oſharia - thrown aside Mith. oſhorab - to be dishevelled-disorder ; uſhorati uprooted , laid waste.
ujr-		
ujrai-	to repair	oſojhoboyoti - shines , Hal. ujr - to clean.
ui-	to rise, get up	
ufau-	to lift, wake up	
ui ſuba	to disappear	
ulk-	to uproot, dig out buried things	utkhato
ulan	boil	Ar D. utstham - act of rising Mar. ufhamu tumour , Hal. upken.
ur-	to fly	
urniya	flying	
u.al-	to blow in the wind (tagas)	

ur-	to scold, rebuke	W. O. <i>hu</i> -; Kharal. <i>hur</i> -; Bauagir <i>hurdiba</i> - to quarrel; Skt <i>husokko</i> - drunken man.
urp-	to threaten	
urq-	to grope for	Ar. D. <i>adhungā</i> - search for
urqi	mound identified as a dirt	DNM <i>uqoln-a</i> heap, collection; w. o., <i>huq</i> - hillock; Dr. D. Kas. <i>uqū</i> Tel. <i>uqū</i> - ridge in field, steep bank.
	<i>nissani urqi</i>	
ut-	to overflow	Ar. D. <i>utta</i> - wet. O; <i>ota</i> - dampness.
ut- poq- utla		Ass-ut - to flood <i>uttala</i>
utk-	to jump, to be restless	O. <i>utkaiba</i> - to jump
uta-	to turn over	<i>utaraṇa</i>
utor -kor	reply to retort, respond	
utr- utraī- utarti	to alight to bring down sloping, alighting	<i>utaraṇa</i>
utur- <i>aliya</i>	impatient, excited person	O. <i>utaliya</i>
utna-	lying flat on back	Ar. D. <i>uttana</i> , Hal. <i>utana</i> ; <i>ut-averse</i>
uda	you take (exclamatory verb)	
ud- udba mas udasai bai	to rise, come up next month East	<i>udayo</i>  Ch. <i>garth</i> . <i>udti</i> .
udk- udki jiba	to spring upward	Ar. D. <i>udgomoti</i> - rises
udi-	to cross over (burdles) to leap	Ar. D. <i>uddaloyoti</i> - bursts, tears <i>uddhvala</i> Mar. <i>udhali</i> - leap, spring.
udli jiba udlai pin-		
udliya -se	elopement to elope	Pkt. <i>uddala</i> , <i>liyo</i> -snatches away <i>uddhvala</i>
udan-	to stretch, to straighten up a crooked thing	Ar. D. <i>uddhana</i> - act of eject O. <i>uchaba</i> .

udar -de udati lok udriya	to lend orrower	Ar. D. uddharayoti - raises
udas	calm and quiet	
una -kor	less to decrease	
unis	musketoon	
unu	other	anya
upk-	to dip up to float	cp. Parji. upk - to emerge utplabana, W. O. uplaba
upka boji	feast, free of payment	
up-	to spatter, sprinkle	utpatana
upor	up, above	
upas	fasting	
ubr-	to be excess	Ar. D. ubbor-swell, urvora left over, surplus, DNM. - ubburo Skt. udbhito; also in Ch. garh, N.
um-	to be ripe	
umai-	to ripen by storing in hot place	Ar. D. Umayote: Ass. umai- to sit on egg, B. umano - to shimmer
umbe jiba	to rot	Hal. umawa - cause to ripen
umbai	brazier, movable oven	ummayito
umar-	cow to low	Ar. D. hambharova, Kharial - humar -
ur-	to skin, strip off to snatch away	Ar. D. ullaba Pkt. ullala; ; O. ular, Ta. uri - to peel, strip off
urkuta	litter rubbish, a ghost who catches children	DNM. ukkurudo-a heap of sweepings, W. O. urkula
ursul-	to skin	Parji. uru-to skin off, to scrape, Ch. garha. usole ut -choli
ut	to turn	Pkt. ulotto-overtaken
utā	opposite	
utd-	to unload	Ar. D. udricyote O. ulod, H. ulocna-to pour out.

ula- to shiver, horripilate  
 ulau-pamra fearsome person  
 ulai flame, hot blast, vapour  
 uli onion  
 ula a spodic

ulu light weight  
 ula ul; gentle breeze  
 ulga loose,  
 —kor to separate, loosen

ulag here  
 ul- to look back

ussa light, easy

usma warmth  
 usna rice from boiled paddy

u this  
 e(ek this bag  
 etek/etici this match  
 ene, enek to this side  
 ebe now  
 ade here  
 emot/emta like this  
 emtar  
 emon thes-

ek one  
 ekia alone  
 ekia alone  
 eka alike  
 ek-la-maru unsocial fellow

egar eleven  
 ej- to remember

egu head (chief)  
 et- to remember  
 etu kor- to remember  
 eu bu- to forget

ullalo

Dr ulli-garlic,  
 Ar D. lugdu-rolls; W. O.  
 (spindle shaped as onion)

cp. POB. bulgusa-slack, loose.  
 Kharal-hulhul

O bulgusa  
 Ar D.—ullagyotu-unfasten;  
 O ulagiba.

ulogo

DNM utthola-turning round,  
 utthola potthola-turning on the  
 sides

ut swast Pkt. usast-fr o  
 from distress

utano

Ar. D. utano.

Parj. eja-to count numbers  
 Kharal. heja kor-to account

Ar D. obhucintyoti; O het--

eri dek- erun	to pry spy	Ar D heroti herokō-sv
ela —kōr	to neglect	O. hela behela
esu	current year	Ar D osomon-in this year; Ch. garhi-esō.
e-jō-	to be, to become	(copulative)
ec- ceal-	to spread a bed	Ar D upcechadōyoti Pkt. oochayonc, N. ochyar, Mth ochauna, O. uchaiba.
oena	bed	Ar D. aechadōno-cover for bed, DNM uuchinoyōn-a bed
or-	to get water from flowing source	Dr D.-Torukkōl-pouring as into mouth, Mal. orukuia-to run down; O. ura-pot tied to date-palm tree for Toddy.
or- pōd or-	to set trap	Dr. D-Kōta-od. Kan, Tel oḍḍu- cp. Pāl. oddeti-to lay snare
or-	to put on cloth to wear	Pkt. oḍḍōno-cloak upōba- tono; Ch. garhi-oḍḍon
o.na	shelf above door listel	O. alops; N. odan-grooved slip along with shutters or panels run. Ar. D. ovomordōn.
odor-	to fall down, drop down, knock down	T. utir, Kan-udur-to drop off W. O. bodriha-to shrienk.
oda	wet	odro Pkt. oddo
or	aerial root hanging down from branches	Ar D avobhorote-sinks into O. ohoio
oreot	Overseer	
oḍ-	to poke	uḍḍoti-turns over
olu-	to hang, suspend	Pkt. ohocio- brought down avobhorote-sinks into.
oḍ	medicine	oḍḍo
osa	August-September	upōvaso; O. Bhadro mas.
osar	broad, wide	Ar D osarō-moving aside Pkt. osarō-going away.

ka	to speak, to sing	
kau-lok	speaker	
kouu bai	brown, reddish hair	Ar. D. kasya, kopila; O. kōhara
koul	mild, sweet, soft	—kōmōto
kout	funny	—kōtuka
kōra	Corn shell	—kōpōda—kōbōdō
kōkō	to shrivel up, to be wrinkled, to contract	
kōkō: oenfi	curly hair	Ar. D. kōra—Sindhi, Lahaada-
kōkra	crippled	kōkra—lightish hair
kōkol	cough	T. kōkol—to vomit; Kōra-kōk-
—lek	to cough	to cough, Parji, Hal. kōkī
kōkīya/kōkia	who coughs	
kōco	owl	Skt. kōśika; Pkt. kōsiya
kōci	bat	
kōcin mac	turtle	—kōcōpō
kōj	creeping plant	
kōjri	tanbourine, flat drum with one side skinned.	
kōjri	date-palm	—kōrōjara
kōri		
-kor	to compare	O. kōriha
kōt—	to oppress	
kōti	cruel, greedy, selfish	T. kōti—naughty person, Tel. kōti—cunning person.
kōt kōt kōr-	to squeak	
kōta	paddy given for husking to others	Ar. D. kōtā—breaking, cutting
kōvar	threshing floor	T. kōtu—to thresh, kōtiānām—beating the husk from-paddy, Tel. kōtu-grannery, DNM-kōtthōlo-Hal. kōthar kōtiā-gara
kōti	granary	Ar. D. kōtiha—store room.
kōtu/kōti	bundle of tobacco leaves	T. kōti—to tie, gather, kōtiā—bundle also in Tel
kōr	side	Ar. D. Kōti; Kan. kōde, side, position of being last, Tel. kōje; Pura-kōdō

kōto parōl-	to turn to a side	
kōamata -dei bos	a sitting position	Parj. kalamata-stretching oneself after waking up
kōi	white clay	Ar D. khotika khoti-chalk
kōua -kas	dry, tough, hard dry-ploughing	—kōja
kōu	mattock, hoe, spade	Ar. D. khudai—khoti, Hal. koti
kōtōp	cut out paddy stems	Skt. kotāp—Pkt. kodāp—Mar. Guj. kodāp—bundle of plant cut for drying before stacking; Dr. kōlā—ppe-miscellaneous mass, Parj. kōpa—thin stick, twig.
—tōngē—	to keep in row	
kōma	pot for warming bathing water	Dr. D. kola, kōm-water pot with narrow mouth
kōṇḍa	paddy husk, barn	Ar. D. Pala-kundoko, Pkt. kunḍo
kōṇḍi	small earthen pot (mainly for oil)	Ar. D. Kōṇḍa-basket—N. H. kōṇḍi Kudali: kōṇḍi—a measure of corn PO B.a. standard measure of 20 seer
kōṇḍi	bank, coast	Ar. D. skōṇḍa-bank of river ; O. kōṇḍi-edge of a deep pit ; Hal-kōṇḍi, Bhaṭṭi-kōṇḍi, Parj. kōṇḍi, kōṇḍi, Sind. kōṇḍi.
kōṇḍek (+ek)	a portion, little bit	Hal. kōṇḍik
kōti -pakai—	wall to plaster walls	Ar. D. kōṇḍi
kōti	loosely woven basket used to cover bullock's face	
kōṇḍi munḍa	shoulder root of arm	
kōṇḍi/kōṇḍa	rough, uneven	Kan. kōṇḍi—course, rough, Skt. kōṇḍi, O. kōṇḍi
kōṇḍi	swallow ground	Ar. D. kōṇḍi—Bihar. kōṇḍi— muddy
kōṇḍi car mōṇḍi	plantain flat shape round shape	
kōṇḍi/kōṇḍi	corner	



kona	carrying staff	Dr D.—Mal. Kaa, kōna, Tel. kārē-bamboo branch, stick; Gondi, kōṭi-arrow; cp. Pali. kōṣoṇa-spear, lance
konia	marriageable girl	—kōnyā
konus	bug (small)	Ar D kuno (utkuno, motkuno) an insect living in cloth, Pashto-kōṭ, kuṭa-tick, louse.
konesti	Constable	
kopur	elbow joint	Skt. kōphoni; Kudali-kopōr; Mundu-kurpōr.
kopṭi	hypocritical, fraudulent	
kebor	message	Arb.
kobriya	messenger	
kom	to prepare clay by pressing with the feet	Ar D komb—Pkt kummon—wither
komy	to fade, to droop	Ar D. komh-wither—Si, Mar kōmzay; Hal kum- flower to fold up.
komb	blanket	—kombol
koma—	to shave	Ar D. -Pkt. kommo—does barber's work.
komaṣ	to earn	kuma
kaman dangar	police reserve forest	—command Gangam-official tour.
koman	pillar	Ar. D. skombhāṇa-prop pillar —O. khōma-foot of hill; valley
komela jōmela	savings	—kama, jōma (Arb.)
komb	trunk, branch	—skombhāṇ
mul komb	main post of house	
koya	peg, stump, cut back stalks.	Tel. Nāk, Parja-koyya-rod, stalk, stick; Hal-koya-broom-straw
kor—	to do	
koru	doer	
korī o—	to comb	S. W korba
korad —	to fry	
korda	fried	Ar. D. khōṣ, khāṣṣ

kāra	to snore, groan, blow nose	
kāda mel - karaṭ -kaṭ	saw to saw	-karaṭetra
karaṅgi caul	coarse rice	
kara -mel	napkin, waist cloth to wear napkin	DNM karaṅon-coarse cloth ; Ar. D. kāṇdu, kharu O. kāṇdu
karaṭ-	to grate, scoop, gnaw	Ar. D. karaṭi
karka	wall-niche, coconut shell	Ar. D. karka-water vessel
kāda	whip	koroda
karpāsa	cave, chasm, declivity	Dr. D.-Kan. kappu, Tuha. kappu-pit, hole in the ground; Bh. karpāsa
kāṭi	basket (medium size)	Ar. D. kāṭi-cup, Pkt. kāṭi
kāsa -cema	dried cowdung cake	Ar. D. kāṭa-cowdung, Ch. gāṭa-kāṭa --kāṭa, W. O. kāṭa
kāl- kalimar- kāl	to chew the cud wrist	Ar. D. kāṭa-fore arm--Punj, H. kāṭa-wrist, fore arm.
kāla aṭiya kāṭi	man with bent arm fem.	kāṭa -carved, crooked
kāṭi kāṭa	liver, heart device for pressing oil (pressed linseed/ put into a bag made of ropes for filtering out oil)	ND -Skt-kāṭyakaḥ--Pkt. kāṭya. Ar. D. kāṭu-macine for pressing sugarcane and oil seeds
kāṭa	jackal	W. O. kāṭa, Hal. kāṭya, Gond-kāṭa, Kui-kāṭa, Mar. Bh. kāṭa DNM kāṭiḥ ; Pkt. kāṭya kāṭa-clever
kāṭa	rafter	Hal. kāṭa; Ar. D. kāṭa- skull, head. Nāṭa-rafter, Punj framework of a thatched house
kāṭa	ravine, between cliffs	Dr. D. kāṭa, carical- slope, sliding. T. car-slope.
kāṭi	barn, corn-bin	Dr. D. -Kan. kāṭi, gāṭi etc.

kotta			
pokai	to layplan for building a house	Tel. kobta-measurement-	
kolai	washerman's starch	Ar D. khob-ot cake O. khel-Mar. Khol-starch.	
kolpai	to tear off (bark)	Ar D. kelpoyai-trims, cuts.	
kos	red	kosaya	
at kōriya	semi-ripe		
kōs—	to plough	kre koro	
ka-			
ma-			
kastr/kastr—	pōda land for ploughing		
kōna	plough share	W O. kōpas kreō	
kōser	gift over a purchase, extra given free,	T. kocuru, Kan., Tel. kōseru	
kōser—	to slip, loose footing	Pkt. kipsōi Skt. sikhōlōs	
kōse	metal pot	kōmasa bell metal	
kōsa	chignon, hairknot	O. khosa skosōi	
kōsa	acid, astringent	kosaya	
kōsa	scabees, dry itch	Pkt. khōso-itch, Mar. kōsera-dry scab of a wound, khōrja.	
		De D.-Kai. kōso-itch.	
sopur kōsa			
kōsh	scale (of fish, snake)	Ar D. kōcudi, kōchū-slough snake's skin. O. kancali-bodice	
ka—	to eat, drink, smoke		
kaure	enter		
kaoni	food (subsistence)		
kadi	fooding, food as payment for service		
kai	what	ep. Kudai-kay	
—ko—	for what		
—mat	how much		
—pai, lagi	why		
kaali	cigar	kahab-drum, musical instr	
kalla			
—ot —	to be ill	katoro Pkt. kayoro-sickly, timid	
kau	crow	Ar D. kahōp;	
qamba	raven		
kauti	carrying yoke, load	Ar D. kōmōthō-bamboo Pkt. kavvōdi one who carries a yoke; Ch. garhu.	

kariya	who carries	kobai; Agv kokkañ; Hal. kawar, kanboi.
kakā/kak eipa	arm pot	
kakər	cold	Ar. D. karkora--see; O. dew frog
kākia	crab	korkoto
potō		
manḍa		
ron		
kākn bada	cucumber	Ar. D. karkola Pkt. kokkoḍo
kāk a pakna	gravel	karkora kākot
kāgar	thief	Ar. D. karkora-vile, bad, kankalo poor, miserable
kag'n	a neck ornament collarbone	Ar. D. kharako-shoulder blade
-at		N. D. khogalo-distance between tips of middle finger with arms stretched W. O. necklace
kāc	bottle	Pkt. kaco-glass, crystal
kāc—	to wash and clean	Ar. D. kaco-pull, crush, press
kac—	to kill lice between two finger nails to poke	
kāca	unripe	Ar. D. /kocca-raw, unripe
—potriya ron	green	
kacra	sweepings, dirty	Ar. D. kacora-rubbish
kajo	itch	Ar. D. kajoṭi-oppresses, hurts;
—kar	to itch	W. O. khajri khāju
kaje	(for that) reason, purpose	karyo
kaj—	to cut	
kaju	capable of cutting	
kāia	thorn	
kaiua	wooden sandal	N. kaṭhus-wooden bowl, O. koṭhou
kāina	wine vessel (gourd)	Ar. D. koṭora O. koṭora-cup
kairei	contractor	
kaḷlam	reward, presentation	Tel. kaṇamu-dowry
kara	hare	Ar. D. /kharobhaka N. khayao Mth. khoreha, W. O. khara, Singham-kheum, In O. Bā, H. castrated young buffalo.

karakuri	twigs	Ar D khaia khaia-straw,
kaŋi		woods, thin piece of wood; O-khar
kaju bolod	carner bullock	Ar D kaŋaŋ-castrated male
kaŋaŋ	arrow	buffalo
kaŋa	sword	Ar D. single joint of a plant
kata		Ar D. khondaka (non-Aryan
kataa	story	origin
kati	knife	kothanaka
katr-	to chew, cut into pieces	†
katr	scissors	Ar D. karta-to trim, clip, slice;
katru-	to crop with scissors	Bh. Kudali-to cut
kaŋ-	to cry, sing, howl, wail	karta
juri juri		
gun gun		
mur mur		
ak mari		
kada	mud, clay	kada
-da	auspicious jar set during	
	weddings rites.	
mali	residue of molasses in	
	brewing pot.	
kad	feeding	
kadul	Cajanus indicus	Tel. kandi-pigeon pea
kah	ear	
-de	to eavesdrop	
-gu	earwax	
kana	blind	
kana	perforated, forked branch	T 'kan, Tel. kanu-bamboo joint
kati	sideway	kono, kornika
kap	sheath, scabbard	skupo O.khupo
-jiba	to fit, join together	
-de	to patch	Ar D. karpola-patched garment
kap	one half	Dr D kappu, kapa-a lump, one
kapai	door	gulp, Ar D. kailo Guy., Mar.→
bangi-	two-fold door	slice.
gun	single door	
kapa	forehead	

kapu	dull	Ar D kabbu-feeble, yielding O. kabu Dr D—Tel. kapa- cultivator, rustic W O. impolite, rude, toothless.
kapu	careless	H. kupa, b-dunce, ignorant, W O. kebora, cp. Tel. kappu, khoporo
kapa	potshred	
kabar	a stick thrown to knock down fruits	Ar D kshep W O khōpār
kābar (kam kabār)	Work	Bh. kābari-servant, W O kōbar
kabra (kabra cūra)	spotted, striped	Ar D. korbāra-variegated, spotted
kam	work	
kama—	to work to earn	kāmapayoti—koma-to earn
kamanī lok	labourer	kāmanika, Ch. garha-kāmya
kār	to earn by serving	Kudali, Bh. kāmay-to earn
kamar	blacksmith	
—mulla	hammer	mashī
kamli	split bamboo	kāmotha-bamboo, O. kamoṛa.
kar / kara	salty	kashar—kharo-corrosive, alkali: Sinhalese-koro-inferiule land.
kariba	to rust	
kara	sunlight	
—cek	to shine	
kara paksa	hail (stone)	karaka, W O karo
karap	false, vile, bad	Arb.
karji mot	money lender's bag	Arb. qarz
karna	canal like gully	(A. E. river bed)
kurla jagā	costly place	khara
kal	to mix together	Ar D. kalyoti-scatters, throws
kalan—	to scald boiling milk	O. khele—to spread out, strew, Skt. avakāśana-mixing, Dr. kulo-to mix
kala—	to churn	Ar. khal-shake, kerayoti O. keleba-to sift,
kal	pit, trench	Dr. D —Tel. kalanku-to stir
—kan	to dig a grave,	kholo
—mar	to dig (a hole)	

ḍep	rough, undulating	Ar. D. ḍhippo
kala	black	
hin kaliya	deep black	
kalamaja	to sit cross legged	
kali	tomorrow	
kas	cough	
kāsiya	who coughs	
kas	time or turn of ploughing (ref. kas)	
kasu	coins	Dr. D. T. kasu, Tel., Mal., Kan-kasu; Coins of less value; Source of 'cash', cp. Skt. kārṣ
ki	[interrogative particle]	
kial		
—kar	to joke, fondle	Arb. khyal-thought, consideration
kali	wife's younger sister	
kika	task	Ar. D. kisku-fore arm
kiri	to tease, snarl	Ar. D. khiss-snarl, mock; DNM. khojjo-be afflicted
kiki	window	Ar. D. khakkika> khodakk;
kira	worm, maggot	kira
kiai	worm infected	
pai	yellow coloured	
botar	winged ants	
paḍr.	filthy smelling	
bursa	dragons	
utu	water-born	
kindor—	to move around in a circuit	Dr. D. —Gadba. kindor-to revolve, to put into circular motion
—utari de—	to turn something	
kiri	skull	<kharpore
kar kir	to scream	
kuri-āk—	rattle, loud sound	W. O. kirinba
mana	quarrel	
kira—		
—orba	to quarrel	cp. Parja. kir-to scratch
kira	parrot	<kira
kirja	core, pith of split bamboo (pith of 'burja')	koru korj: kirja
k rṇi	musical instrument	Dr. D.-T. kirṇi, Tel. gṇiya

karsa	cheese	W O., Hal., Ch garhi-khira Ar D —karsaka
kil	to shut	
kilni	door bolt, hook	
kila	wedge, peg	kitoko, O. khilo
—caul	unbroken rice	
kila- ga	collarbone	Parj kil-joint, Dr D kil
—gati	wrist	Dr D kilo-elbow
kiri	to rot, be overripe	W O., Bh., Hal.-kuhi, N. D. kuhena kuthyoti-stink
kui kal	(Water) well	cp korka, Nahali
kukua	cock	
—dake	dawn	
kukunda	nit, louse egg	
kukur	dog	karkara Pkt kutto
para	numb	
kuc	to tuck in	Ar D. kucyoti
koca	crimped or plaited border of cloth	O kocha
kuci-kasi	key	kuncika
kucial	wicked	N D. kucila-ill dressed, kueni- lowliness, POB. bad conduct
kucni	retail seller	kuffoni-bawd, W O. khucni
ket keti	post	Ar D. kuto-tree
mar	to nail	
kuṣ—	to pound grain	
kuias	the hole	Hal. kotas
kuias	the pestle	
kuta	clitoris	Dr D. kofa, kuṣ
kutum	family, relatives	kulumbo
kuṣirunga	woodpecker	
ku,	wal.	Hal. khuf; Parj.-kuṣṣi, Mar kuṣ
—mara kor	to bore a hole through a wall, to steal	Ar D kuṣya: ku-kutu; Na-kuṣu
ku	heap, pile	
kuṣai—	to collect, amass	Skt. kuṣa Kuṣa—heap
kuṣa kura cam	wrinkled skin	
kuṣka	a metal utensil	Ar. D. kuṣa pitcher, kuṣapo kuṣṣo kuṣṣika—a measure
		Dr D. Tel. kuduka (kuṣu— boiled rice) Koda kuṣika—rice pot.



kunq	tank, reservoir	Dr D. -Tel. Kan.-pool Ar D kunqo—water pot.
kunqai putia	toy	
kutrl	she-dog	
kudr—	to separate mixed up things	Dr D Tel kuduru
kudra	share	POB. kundura vegetable selle
kudra	raised platform to place jars. pots	POB. kudiari-mound. duna
kudri a—	to walk in leisurely manner	Skt kurdo—to flee by leaping
kun—	to dig up, bore	khawna
kup—	to pierce into	kshub O khob—to ram, poke
kupa	heap, stack, mound	Tel. Gond. Kai kuppa-small hillock, DNM khumpa-shelter from rain made of grass; Ar D—Punj. kupp—stack
kupt	wick-lamp	Ar D. kupo, kumpo Pkt. kumpiya—leather oil vessel; O. kumpl
kupla	hillock	Ku-kupa (ref kupa)
kube	much	O khub
kubia	hunch back, stooping	Ar D. kubro—humpbacked bull
kumqa car—	pumpkin, gourd white gourd	kusmanqa, Beng kumia
kumb	knobs on the upper circumference of oven	
kums—	sores, ulcers—to grow	cp. Dr kamai-be distressed putrefy
kur	hoof	kturo
kura	blade, razor	
kurai—	to shave	
kuura	mist, fog	kahporsa, - krasa, kuheli
kuro—	to tuck in, poke	Ar D. koko thrust. Pkros. dig N. kocanu, W. O. korca- wood splinter
korcali	the diagonal shaft joining plough with yoke	Dr D. kurcu—to join (Tel).
kuruq	adder for levelling	ploughed field
kurupnas	destruction, deluge	
karuta	manure-heap	Te. kulonu heap
kul—	to scoop out, to open	

kula	winnowing fan	Ar D. kulyo, Pali-kulā;
poler—	small size	kalayo—woven texture
kula	wage	N D.—Arb. origin
kular	labourer	
kulur	eagle	Ar D. kuluro—osprey, Dr D. = Papa Koda, Kua. kuluri = crane, heron.
kulikulai—	to gargle	Onomet
kusna	grass scraper	Ar D. kusi-mattock, spade, etc.
kusru musru	rustling, whisper	
kusi—	to loosen, slacken, untie	Ar. D. kips-slip, N D. khsol = su-to peel, rummage.
ke	who	
ketek	how big	
ketek	how much	
kone	where	
kebe	when	
kemat	how	Alt. kemta, kemtar
keu	fisherman	
keks	to throw down from a height, to dash down	
kecua	earthworm	kincubko
keja	to barter	Ar D. kreyo Mar keja-barter; W. O. kheja—small heaps for sell.
—bik		
keja	fieldmouse	
tupi	mousetrap	Ar D. khotiyoti—overshoots
kef -	to arrive reach the end to suffice	Mar khotine—to come to a stop. Ch. garhi. khot—durable. O. khaliba.
kei/kei	play	
kei kel—	to play	
kerua	player	
—potor	paying cards	
ker	ear of corn, spike	Ar D. kheto—rice straw, khot khot; H. kepa—tender twig, sapling.
—anja	to lie down	
keta	stupid, dunce	Ar. D. ketta-child, W O. khetu
ked—	to drive away, chase, pursue	PKI. khesot—drives off, Parsi-hunting.

keda/di	branch	skondo; Bh. Hal. kheda
kep—	to leap to attack to gulp	Ar. D. kshepya—to thrown into, O khepa-gulp, once, a turn
kepat	to join, fit in	(ref kap)
kebra	cat like striped animal	Ar D. korbera—spotted.
kera pati	cheese water	O. coha
kerow	lincloth	Made from the fibers of keser tree (Ketunga-Gardenia Lati- folia) calotropis gigantea
kel keḷ-keḷ	game Ha-do-do (game)	
kes	plume of hair (as of cocks)	
kesu	tail feathers scarf, wrapper	Ar. D. kheso Sin. khesu-thick cotton cloth, Ganjam-Bed Sheet
kor	where	
koj koj—	footprint to track animals	Pkt khojō khejōti-tracks, seeks
koṭe	a score, twenty	Ar D. 'man' Austro. as having 20 fingers
kon —ti	which where	cp Bt. koni logor
kop kopai— kopera	to be angry angry man	
gō-cuna, kud	flour	godhuma O. gōhmo
gōi	iguana	godhaka, W. O. gue, O. godhi
gōtiṣa	dog-fly, tick	Dr D.-Kan. gōṭṭa-black-ant ; Tel. gorre cedaku-soldier ant.
gōṭ bon gōṭ	herdsman prehistoric humanbeings	
gōṭi	to fumble	Ar D.-Guj. Mar gāṅṛya-out cry, brawl, ghabhāro-to be confused.
gōc	tree	
gōci	troops (of musicians)	
gōṇa	sharp, pointed	

gōnā	bell	
gōh	knot, ligament	
gōḡa	pincher	
gōḡi	trunk	
gōt-la	sufficient	Ar. D. aṣṣṭi O. ṣṭiba
gōt (gōt mal)	town	Pkt. gōḡo-fort
gōt- gōṭm	to mould a shape make	Ar. D. gōḡo gḡo—mould, form.
gōṭsa	unit of measure 30 poi	Dr. D.-Kan. gōṭsa, Tel. gōṭsa cp. Pali. kōṭsa.
gōt gōṭr -mel	relative, kinsman who come on visit rites observed to release ancestor's spirit	Ar. D. gōṭr P., Pkt.-gōṭr, Punj., H.-gōt
gōt -acōr kabaṭ	debt-servant man in slavery hired labourer	DNM. gūtī—a bondage
gōta	quilt made of rags	kōṭha
gōd- gōḡu	to prick, pierce vaccination	Ar. D. gōḡd—to dig Mar. gōḡo- to taloo
gōd-	to cut	Bhatn.-gōd.
gōd -kōr gūa	fetid to stink, smell bad camphor	
gōd	hoghouse (also for domestic animals except cattle)	
bukra	inner room	Dr. D. -Tel. gōḡd, kōḡd-hok, gap cp. O. kōḡdhi kōḡdō.
gōḡa	ugly person	
gōḡa baḡḡa)	male	
(gōḡi aḡi)	female	
gōḡa-	to dissolve, mix with water	Ar. D. gōḡd—sediment, mud H., Guj., Mar. gōḡd-to become turbid, Hal., Panj. gōḡr-to wallow in mud as pigs, buffaloes, W. O. gundol-turbid.
gōḡo	donkey	
baḡ	hyena	

gōn-	to count	
gōnta kar-	to make account	
gōba	chignon, stalk	Ar D. gorbha—N. gubha-core H. gubhū-lumpy
gōbr-	to disarrange, confuse	Ar. D. —ghobbor-confused
gōbs-	to abort	<gorbhasrava, Sinhalese-gōbaava
gōmāk	sweet smell	op. N., H., Dr D. gōm, gūm
gōmat -kar	to make farce, to ridicule	Arb.
gōyl	buson	Ar D. gōyōdō-rhinocera.
gōr	house	
dandual	without side roof	
mōur	with .. ..	
-bād	to build a house	
gōrōja	log of wood	
gōrōja-	to trim, cut into pieces	N. gōrōja—to cut into pieces gōrōja १०
gōron	eclipse	
gōrob	pride	
-ka	to boast	
gōt	to churn, pollute	Ar D. ghobayti-stir together
gōl	to leak	Ar D. gōl-drips
gōl gūla	snail (shell, oyster)	Tel gūla, Hal. ghūla, Parji gūli WO ghūli, Bastar-gūla.
gōer--	to slip, to be drugged	Ar. D. ghoro
gā-	to sing	
gā	cow	
gāo	scar, ulcer, wound	ghāo
gāo	village	
gā gōt	body	Hal. gāga, W O. gāgr
gāgā	bellhook	Hal., Ar D. gāgāsi-chopper, cut ting knife, POB. ghagāsiha-to cleave split bamboo.
gāgā	trinkling bell	ghorghari-girdle of bells
gāgā	brass pitcher	gāgā, Pkt gāgā
gāyol	bangle	Dr D. Tel. gāyelu-trinkling orna- ments.
gāyol mudā	ornaments	
gāja	tender shoot	gāja
—mar, iek—	to sprout	

gāja	rooster	Pers.
gaṣ	scar	Dr. D. Kan., Tel. gajji-scarb, itch
kordai gaj	stche	
—dar	to have scar	
gāi—	to mix, scorch	ghrsto O. ghoi
gaju	landing place on a river, mountain	Ar D. ghoi(-)quay, ferry
gajual	boatman	
gaḍli	nape of the neck	Ar D. ghaḍo Pkt. ghaḍo, Dr D. Gadba, konda. gaḍli-neck; ep. Pers. gonda
gar	river	Ar D. gholo-stream, Tirah golo-rivulet, Pashai ghol-river, Mar ghod-ravine. Also godo-dach Sindhi ghar-dry river course
gar	to bury, fix	Ar D. gōd gar-dig, bury W O. gariba, goria
gara/argata	door catches	
jai gara	bamboo pole attached to net	
gaṭa	bunch of plants	gho'a ghotaka
gaṭa	wasp	Dr. D. Parj. gardid-hornet
gara	■ ■ ■	Ar D. -Pkt. gōdōn-goat, ewe
gande	a vocative particle	Ar D. -N. gā u-worthless fellow
gatra	chummy, trashy	Mar gadal, H. godla-dirt Ganjam gatra-clean.
gāt	to string together	grāth
gad, gadia	store, pile, stack	Ar D. grōs
gadol - (pani-gadol)	to bathe,	euphemistically—to give birth
gona	smith's bellows	Pkt. ghaṇṇ-mill
gab—	to dilute	Ar. D. gabbo-filling of a hole
gab: de—	to pour out	
gamca—	skirt	
—la	underwear	
gar	egg	T. karu, guḍu, Tel. kari, gaḍi Hal. gar W O. gora
gara	core, soft inner part of	Ar D. garu-pulp, puth Mar gora-lump of the pulp of jack fruit.
buḍ gara	■ ■ ■	
gari	castrated testicle	Mar ghod, gypsy, gar-testicle

pala gan	plantation field	O. gara-med, mortar, kneaded clay
gan		
gariya	metal pitcher	Ar D. galo
gal	cheek	galayot-strain off water
gal-	to sift or strain	galo
gala	neck	
gas	grass	Hal. gijpe-to laugh; N. gijn-to mock, Kumaoni gojauu-to provoke
gu gyor	to mock, make faces at	ghotat -happens
git-	to happen	
gita-	to meet	
git	song	Hal. gitkuriya
—kuriya	singer	
git kalam-	to tickle	
gid	lark	Pkt. gidho-vulture; W. O. gidhla small bat
gido-	to be excited	Ar D. grdar-greed, desire.
gina	metal cup, goblet	T. kumom. Tel. gimniya/gimno-
gini	for that, because of	Hal. gune O. gheni
gini	cymbal	
gir-	to cordon, surround	Ar D. gher-surround, go round
giri ne-	to fish with a fishing cloth	W. O. gir-
gira	mat made of thin	Dr. D.-Kan. gor-to catch fish,
qongri	strips of bamboo	Tel. gora-cekka-a drag with
jal	used for fishing	which rivers are cleared; Mun <sup>2</sup> dan-gira (fishing net) Na-geri (fishing hook).
gurna	a lizard	POB. girika-small rat
gil -	to swallow	gilat
gi	to be overboiled	golou-melted
gi gila	overboiled	
glas	tumbler	glass
gu	faeces	
-luga	cloth presented to bride's mother in a wedding.	
gugufa	saplings, bushy	
kor	to be cloudy	
guc	to move, to turn aside	Ar D.-Beng. ghac-drag, pull.
gulgut-	to coo	
gudam	tomb	Kan. guqda-hill, mound, heap.

gudri cipi gudri	small bullock	
gui bul— eki—	molasses sticky	Pkt guḍ
guṭa	small village	Hal., Dr. D. guḍḍa, guḥa-hill, mountain, W. O. highland fit for cereal Tel Kol guṭi-hut, hamlet
guṭa	nest	Tel guṭa, Gonda. guḍa, Hal -cage
guṭa	towel	T. kuṭai, Kan. guḍḍe, Tel. guḍḍa-kerchief, towel, piece of cloth
gu, a-	to wind, roll up tangle a rope	Ar D. guḍa-globe, ball
guṭi (k) (pam guṭi)	indicative of some amount of liquid	Tel guḍukku-a single swallow or gulp
guṭi	temple	Dr. D. temple, hut, hamlet;
guṭ-sets	an abuse to woman	W. O.—Tel. guḍḍu-barren woman
gund -kor	powder to pulverise	Ar D. guḍḍo-powder
gundḍ	button	Tel gundḍ, Parja guḍam, Punj. ghandī, N ghuṭi ghundḍ- button, tag, knot
gundḍ	measles	(O. kunḍa)
gunḍu	weights	Dr. D. gunḍu-globular thing, stone, Gunjam, gunḍḍ
gunḍi -oiba	rounded be twisted, tangled	Tel gunḍu-round, sperical, Ar D gundḍo-ring ( kunḍḍ)
guti-	to string beads	Pkt gunthano
gud gud-jiba	to flee	Ar D. gundḍo-leaps, jumps
gud	brain	Ar. D. gondo-brain; W. O. gūd
gud-	to doze	Tel kunḍa-a-dozo
gunera	dozing person	Tel gunu, guni-humpback
gun -dar	thread, cord to weave a cord	guṭ
guna	big earthen jar	W. O. ; Tel guna, I kunai
gunḍuṭ	mosquito, eyelid	W. O. ghunḍuṭ



gaps-gba	to be jumbled up	gupta, gup-to hide, conceal
gupliya	clumsy, foppish	Hal gupli-secret
guba		
pul guba	bouquet	gorbho gubha; N D gubho
gum-	to rot in the heat	N. D. gumayamu-to put aside so as to ripen; Mar ghumbe-to ferment. Skt ghorma-heat
gum-		Pers. guman
guman	to remain silent, adamant sulkiness	
gumor	a muffled sounding thing	Ar D.-N. ghum-interlaced bamboo strips; W. O. ghumra
(goigumor)	in the cattle's neck.	Tel gummi-mire, deep mud, Gadba gummi-pet. DNM gumo-to turn round, W O. ghum-to whirl round
gumi	whirlpool	
gumsa	blow with fist	ghusa-thrust, push with fist
gur-	to move round	ghurob-revolve
gurna kor-	to meditate	guroyoti-think
gurali	worried	
garda	a blow with the fist	Kumaoni-gulsa-forearm above wrist, POB. gurada-mace
kokor garda	blow by elbow	
gardi de-	to thrust	gur-to hurt
gurmur-	to chant, hum	
gurmali	enchanter, diviner	
gur-bar	Thursday	
gul	false, irrelevant	Pers. gul-confusion, noise
gula	dumb	
gula	rounded, unbroken	Ar D. gola
daru	unchopped wood	
kapal	single door	
guli	all, entire	Bb. gulay; Skt. kuls, D. NM guliya-a quantity, a multitude
gulu	fencing circuit, circular fence	W. O. garh-fencing, crib gnar-
gustu	association	gotic
gusri	hog	grho-sukra, ghrāji
gagot		
-kor	to persist in	Ar D.-Mar., Guj. gāptac-outcry, braw
-ka	to slur over anything	
gaj. (pani)	soup or gruel made of sour rice	Hr. D. kanyika; Dr D.-Tel., Kan.-gajji

genḍu	aluminium, silver	Ar. D. genḍi-gong, Dr D.
muta	metal jar	genḍi-small metal water vessel,
gen-	to buy	grḥṣu
genahisa	purchasings	
geḍu	buyer	
gebra		O ghaba.a-confused
gebrat	to confuse, to commi mistake	
ge pa	a push by neck	Golohṣṣṣ O. golo ha
-de	to give jolt	
gol	cattle-pan	gosthaṇḍ
golani		
-kor	to herd cattles	
gole	one, undivided	
gor	leg	Pkt. gorḍḍa-foot
gora	horse	ghoṣ
gorḍi	itch	
gopena	sling	Pkt. gophona-sling, H. Gul gophon, Hal., Parj-gopenda; Tej gappu-to sling
gob	flat head, buttend	Ar. D. gap-perce
gobḥa-	to butt	O. gribiba
gobor	cowdung	Ar. D. gorvora-pulverised
-coṛa	mixed with water	cowdung for sprinkling to purify
gor-	to grind, pound	Ar. D. ghra-rub, pound
	pestle	
gorna	mil. stone	
goru	kine	Ar. D. gorupo (cowshaped)
bāda bel	twilight	Paḥ, Pkt goruva-bull
co	six	
co bu	irrelevant talk	Bh. cokal nokal
coṣ	March-April	Pkt. ceto
coṣ	to diffuse, give off fragrance.	O. coḥot; N. coḥak-brightness
coud	fourteen	
cok cok kor	to chirp	Onomat.
coka	shirt	Tel. coḥṣ-jacket, coat, Ar. D. cokka-brass, chaff, O. cokoṛ

eknu	square leaf-cup	etuskə ʔ, Gug eakʔa-pot, Hal, W O
eg-	to climb, ride	Ar D eəh-strive after, Parg-cokk, Bh eeg, Ch G eəgh, W O eəgh, Nəik sokk Naha i-cokha
egai-	to raise	
egti	ascending	
egie ka-	to shout at	
eccom-	to rinse	sonco O. chcoofa.
ekiya	sparrow	etokə
ektu	ladle (stick)	Pkt. coitu-wooden spoon
ekti	penis	Dr D cultu, Ar D cula, vulva anus
kal	to circumcise	
edɿ	heard	tunjo tʰojo; W. O. chor
edɿu	bird	Pkt. cidigə
edɿa	purifying cowdung with water	kilora, Sind. choro
edɿua	metal plate, disc	Ar D edɿu-pot-saucepan H. H edɿua, Gug edɿu
edɿuɿ	upper lip, beak, bill	T edɿu-lower lip, Parg. cond mouth, beak, Kan. caud
edɿuɿa conɿ —ɿuɿam	hawk who carries tales	W. O. conɿ
edɿur	skilful	
edɿek	a little while	keho a
edɿ	sticky juice, gum	Ar D edɿu-only, W O cope
edɿ—	to chop, thrash	O. a po-pressure cəpp—
edɿok	to cringe in fear to wince	Pkt. camɿka-startle, sudden movement
edɿ	ford	T. edɿom-scaffolding, Tel saruɿa-bridge, O. edɿa-improved bridge
edɿu (bar)	seared or ceremonial rice	T, Mal edɿu-boiled rice
edɿ—	to tease, annoy	Ar D edɿu-frank, trick, Mar - teasing
edɿ	to go	
edɿu	to paddle	
edɿ	ha'e	
edɿ	rice (uncooked)	Pkt. caub
edɿuɿa	idler, who eats and never works	

cak—	to taste	cols
cakna	which palliates the sense of taste, refrains of riddles	cak&po-eating a relish to promote drinking (Ar D.) and songs.
cakls	one who tastes	fem.
caṅ, a	wicker basket	Ar D cōnger
cāc-	to mow, scrape off	Ar D toksoṭ Pkt. comābe- scrapes, clips
cacapat	miscellaneous materials for any rites.	
caj—	to lick, eat	Pkt. cotte-lick costs ocks.
cakra	one who sicks	
catu	big ladle	Hal.
—mae	to paddle a canoe	
sik	husks and rinds of grains	
catna	basket, used mainly to carry cowdung	O catt, cp. Dr catti-po t.Ar. D. cattic-bamboo matting.
catt	ant	T. ctcl, Tel ceda-white ant;
soṇer	tray	Korku, Hal. -ant
bis	biting	
koṭri		
bōr mundi		
cal—	to discard, abandon, wean, forgive, acquit, divorce etc.	chordot
cāri	without	
cārri	divorcee (fem)	Hal. carri.
caṇḍ	quickly, instantly	
caṇḍal	weaver	
cātri	rain hat	chotro-parasol
cator gōr	choultry, resthouse for pilgrims	Ar D. sotro-asylum, abode
cati	mushroom	
koṭra sin		
iaku		
manoi	from anth.li	
bāusai	from bamboo	
bal		
bali		
biṣok		
sōrgi	tall variety	

can—	to peel (fruit)	Pkt-dia 10 10-sift, strain W O. nichy,
cani	thatch	Hal can
cap—	to press	chadonika, Hal H. cham.
cap dar—	to grab	Pkt. cəppot
capoŋ	slap	Ar D. corpoŋ-flat hand, open palm
capli ka—	to chew noisily	Onomat
cab—	to bite	costoŋo
caboi—	to grit, chew thoroughly	
cabra	biting	
cam	skin, hide	
camr	skinny, pliant	Hal. camŋi
koh	wart	
puli	tumour	
bei—	to scrape	
camra	cobbler	
camka	shell	O. samuka
camŋa	covered pavilion awning made of branches	chayun:uŋŋo
car	ash	ksharo-corrosive
carua	ash coloured	
car—	to graze, browse	carŋo
cara	pasture	Pkt. car-grass, car-fodder, bait
carat	grazing ground	
cari	four	
cari bai		
beiŋi	around	Hal. carobeti
banda	unit of measure (40 puli, 1 banda=10 puli)	
cal	hide	chollu-bark, skin
cali	bark	
—utraŋ-	to peel	
—bei	to skin	
—cuŋa	to strip off	
calu-	to sift	caluŋo-causing to move
caluŋ	sieve	Pkt.caluŋ-sieve, strainer
calpaŋi	portion of the cheek near about the ears	

ci -	to touch	Ar D. chap-touch, Pkt. chihot-Bh. ciis
cui	monthly menstruation	Ar. D. chupto-touched chuto-impurity, Hal. cutiya
curi	swamp	
curi	cracked	
ci- —	to squeeze	Ar D. cikka
cikoa	oil.	cikko is-slippy, unctuous oil, ghee, butter etc.
cikna	smooth, glossy	
—t, t)	oil-press	
maqa cikoa	sedimented oil	
ciko,	mud, mire	cikhallo
—dar—	to make the soil muddy after sowing	
cik:	slimy	Ar D. cikko-gummy matter
(ciku gu-)		bird-lime, Mar sap, gum of plant, O(ciko)
cimgo—	to leak	Pars cing-to-be torn, W. O.—chint ha
cinla:	to push in (through a narrow passage)	Pars cong-to pierce, kol Nask song-to enter
cto	to splash out in order to drain	
ci:	notice	
cika	cricket	Ar D. cicungo-small venomous insect, chil-sudden movement
ciki mungl	dishevelled head	W O chija-dirty
ciTel	louse-mite, mite	Dr. D.—Keda-cin, Kol-sr Gondi-sr, Kurku-cir-cit
cir	to break, terminate,	chid-to cut
cilka	spark, spurting	chit-flash
ci (ugga	bamboo twigs, wattle	Dr. D. Gondi sander-bamboo splinter, Tel. ciru-to shoo, split, W. O. jhatings
cit	flat, lying on back	Pali cikt. prostrate on back
kar—	to flatten	
patya	being on the back	
citr	painting	
kariya	painter	
citol	deer	Ar D. citrola-spotted antelope
cita	paddy insect	Dr. citla-everything small
cin	to know	cinhayati-marks, stamps
cina	mark	cinno

cio—	to catch a falling matter	W.O. chin—, DNM. cio-to collect, Ar D. chinno-cut off chin-to snatch, cinoti, vicinoti-picks.
cini	little	Dr. cinna, cinni-small, little.
aniti	little finger	W. O. cini
cip—	to choke	
cipna	tongs, clamp	Parj.
cipani	narrow	
cipo	wedge	Dr. cippe-bolt, catch
—bād—	chip for tightening. to tie compressing between two pieces of split bamboo.	
cipia	rheum of eyes	
cipiti	off-season paddy	
cipi	leaf cup	Parj-cipiti (Tel.culpi-small)
cam	to pinch with pincer	
cimku de—	to pinch	Dr. D. I. cimuta, kan cimuta,
cimka	pincer	Tulu-cimukuni
cimta kan	nut cracker	
cimti	Cement	
cimura	silent, numb	Dr. D.—I. cimuta, Kan.summa-silent quietly, W. O. jhumra-to doze
ci	nerve	sara, W. O. chir
ci—	to split rend, cleave	ciroyoti-splits, ciro-strip Singalese-lara, no-line, streak
ciro dar	first ploughing	
cira	wall of cliff	T. cari-slope of mountain, Tej cari-cliff, side of a bill,
—karsiya.	person in charge during hunting.	Kan sari-ravine
cirla	small corns, changes	W. O. cibri; T. cilarai, Tel. Kan. Cillara
cilpa	small pieces of wood	W. O. scrapings of wood; Hal silpa, kut. sipa-splinter,
		Ar D. chello-skin, rod
cua	pool	Ch. G. cui-well, Parj-juva, Gonds cuva, Malt-cuva-well, Ar D. cyototi-cozes, streams forth.
cui	impute	(ref.cui—)

ooca	empty, bare, free of cost	Ar D. mochoo-empty, vain.
cucunda	musk shrew	chucchuadōri-mask rat.
cuī—	to plug	
cuīna	plug	H. cuīna, O. cuīna
cutoṭ	anus, buttock	H. cutoṭ, W. O. cutoṭ-buttock, ramp; T. cutoṭ-anus, buttock
cun	limestone	
cunā	powder	curno
pakna	grinding stone slab.	
cupōr—	to suck, squeeze, wring out water	Ar D. capp-press; cipar—
cupri ka—	to sip noisily	
cam—	to kiss	cubh-pierces, sumblaze Asa.
cama	kiss	sumaba-to thrust into, cause
pa cumai—	to set fire	to enter
curcara	all cleared	
cun	knife	
cun kiṭa	weevil, wood-borer.	Dr. D. T. cun-bore, perforate
curka	small basket	Hal. cuka
cur maṭe dar—	to grab firmly	
culbal—	to shiver (as leaves)	Parjā.—to revolve, Pkt. culb-
culbala—	to stir	volbno-fidgeting; N. col bol—restlessness.
culi	oven	Dr. ongta?
poka culi	with double oven	
ekia culi	single	
cek—	to bake, foment	sekk-heat, foment, roast.
cek—	to check, obstruct,	O. cek chedo-section, piece.
cenṭi	hair	Lara-cunda, W. O.—tuft, Hal. condi-comb of cock, Parjā. ceda-top-knot; H. coṣṭ-coil of woman hair; Sit. cuna/Dr. cunda.
cenṭa	strong and stout	POB. a male buffalo.
ceṭ	to feel, realise	
ced pani	cheese water	
cedur	vermilion	sadur



cena	cowdung	sakta chagoṭa choyoṭa	
cena	gram, chickpea	O. cota	
cer	root	cor	
cena	ground nut		
cel	spear	selo	
celi	goat	chagolo	
celka	sliced scraping wood shavings	Ar. D. chilla-skin, rind	
col	short	Pkt. chodi	2
cota	lame		
cola cola	to limp		
col—			
cor	to steal		
cora	thief, glutinous		
coriya	wicked		
jo	excess, sufficient.	Hal. jahu/joha jutho	
joi	fire	Jyoti=light Pkt-joi=fire; Bh. joy, O. jui	
jok	leech	pluka; O. joko	3
jok—	to shame, glitter		
joku	tonal	POB. jokki-a small bulbul	
jogol	moss, Hydrilla Verticillata		
jon	thigh	Ar. D. shank-ankle to knee	
joi—	to deceive		
—bad—			
joi-na	quickly	Pkt. jhoditi=suddenly	
joi	animal		
(jot jiyad)			
jot kot	here and there	Bh.	
jota	careful		
joti lok	fanciful		
jon	moon	Jyotens Kumaons, N. juu,	
ksli jon	crescent moon	Ass. zon.	4
jjeom	birth		
kar—	to give birth		
ona	maize	Tel. Gadba, Gondi, Kavi— jonna, Parp-jenna. Ar. D. yovó- nalo juelo	

jənpa	jute, cotton string.	soyo polo; O. jhuvo
jəbor	the pole fixed as barricade to the movement of dangerous spirits.	
jəba	mud	Parji-jəba-mud, mire, Ar D. jəmbə-mud, O. jəbna-muddy dirty
Jəm par	other world	
Jəm—	to assemble	Arb. jəmna
Jəman	Police	Pers. Jəmanbis-clerk who keeps account of rent.
Jənika	pendant	jənika jəhuppo-cluster
Jəf	fever	
Jəf -	to soak, absorb	Ar. D. jroti, Pəf-jəna
Jəcinəna	penalty, fine	Arb. jəman
Jəf	to burn with fire	
Jəna	spring, most, bog	Dr. D. -Kan, Jəhuga, Parji- plug, Kurku-Zolla; Ch. G. jəhəli jəhəharika.
ja—ji—, gə	to go	yəti-goes inflectional alternants,
jəi	whatever	
Jəola	twin	yəmo
jək	until	yəvotə
Jəkar	a festival in September preceding 'bandəpon porə'	W. O. priest.
jəkə	jacket	
Jəkəni	junction	
Jəg—	to wait to guard, watch	
Jəgrə	watchful	Bh. Jəgrət
əgə	watchman	
Jəgəi jəi	brazier	
Jəc—	to offer	yəcəte-is asked, buy, test
Jəi	quarrel	
Jəi jəgrə	wrangling	Pkt. jəgəde
Jəvə—	to form gang	Jəhə, jəi
Jəf	to clean	Ar. D. Jəhəti-falls, Pkt. Jəhəde-sweeping

jat	grass, shrubs	Ar. D. jhat-forest, arbon.r. Pkt. kjaṣṭh-bush, thicket W. O. jhar
—por	binon	W. O. jhar
—qali	home gardener	
jaṣ	swinging basket	O. jhura, Mth. jhori. Bhoj. jhora.
jata	grinder, millstone, stone handmill	Ar. D. yonra, O. pata kudali-jata.
jata kor—	to compare	Ar. D. yacā-test, O. jāc
jaṣ—	to know	jaṣa
jaṣi	trinkling ornament	O. jhumpa
jabi	pocket	Arb. zeb
jabu	continuous rain	
jaṣ	guava <i>Psidium Pynferum</i> .	jambo Sind. jamu, Balasore O. jhami Ganjam. jami.
jaṣa -dēt	jaw molar	Ar. D. jembha-jaw, cheek, tusk, eye tooth, Ass. Zamu dēt-back tooth, Hal. joma, W. O. jombhael dēt. (Jombha-eats)
jamala	pheasant	
jaṣa dan	wild paddy	Ar. D. jhor-wastes away, POB. jhora—a kind of grass—einhonitoa colona.
jal	sweat	Ar. D. jhalo-flow, burning pungent
—put— —kosa	to sweat lichen	
jal	net	
teka jal/jeans gira—	boi jal, gangri jal	
jali	fringe of cloth	Ar. D. jhallri-fringe, frill.
ju	daughter	Ass. Ziyari
ji juna	to live livelihood	Punj. jun, Bh. jyona; Ch. G. jura Ass. Ziyar-water to plant to revive it.
jik- ika jana jiku bon	to drag, draw, pull, hutch, jerk, draft animals dragging thorny thicket	
jikra	bits of broken pot, potsherds.	W. O. jhunkar

jjar—	to gnaw	POB. jhar—to canker
jji	core of fruit	
jjihoia	dragonfly	O jhi—chirping cricket
jijiti	house lizard, gecko	
jii	sediments, residue	Tel. Kan jiddu—a substance that is oily, greasy
jii— kari	to win, surpass, excel, overcome winner	
jitra	celless (hair)	Ar D jhilo-hair Pkt. jhamli, Mth jheni—small bunch of hair, tuft, pubic hair
jio—	to overtake, excel	
jib	tongue	
jabot—	to stutter	
jima	small fish	POB. jima, jimi
jimu—	foundation firmly	POB. jumiba-to accumulate
pakai—	to lay foundation	
jimri pami	drizzle, gentle shower	W O jhiri
ji—	to break, through wear and tear	jati-grows old, jina.
jilangi—	bushy jungle	Ar. D. jhilo-a wild plant.
jat—	son-in-law	
uati—	yoke	Ar. D. yugosalo-halo
jaar —kar bel	greeting, paying obeisance to pray, beseech greeting at meeting	
juka—	mishap	W O jhukha-to miss the aim,
jugor—	to steal and eat at random	
juguia—	perishable foodstuff	
jaj— jujani kor	to carry tell	
juriya—	toering	
juiia -	to stumble, trip in walking	jhototi-falls
jutai—	to arrange a load	jukto, W O. juti-tethering rope

juta—	hairknot, chignon	jute Pkt. yuḍa
jutus	Vigna Typus	Purji. duṅga-black dolichos bean
jum-jumār—	to swoon, reel to dizzy	Hai. jumār, W. O. juma; jumbha
jur—	to grow as to ripe to mature	W. O. jhur—to affect with heat (jurnm jugsau juna)
juri p—	to be overripe	
jur—	to plunder, loot	
juriya	plunderer	
jurḍa—	cockroach	W. O. jhuria, Dr. D.-kan jirḍa-jurḍa (Tel. juri-centipede) Ar. D. soroto-lizard, chameleon Mar. sorḍa.
jul—	to nod, swing,	Pkt. jhulḍi
jula—	to shake, dangle	
julak —	to waver, gush, splash out	
julek	a pair	W. O. juli
julni—	to chain a cow's legs at milking time.	
julba-jor—	the chain	
julka-bet—	nocturnal hunting	jhal-flash.
je—	Relative pronoun	
jeṛe—	how big	
jete—	how much	
jene—	wherever	
jete—	whenever	
jenoti, jentar	which manner	
jekna—	prop, support	Hi. cleft branch
jekna—	trouble, complication.	O. jeyala
jejeruci—	rainy weather	O. jhoya
jet—	tuft, matted lock of hair. pate-twisted hair	
jest—	landi jest May-June	
jot—	wherever	

jogat—	to get dressed up	O. jogaru—collection of means and materials.
jogn-jatok—	Book of astronomical calculations, almanac	
jor	to join	yuteti
jori/jori-gar	streamlet	T. cor-to ooze out, Ham jor-ran in stream.
jotek—	a pair	
jot /jutai—	to arrange	yakto
jon	Whoever	
jola—	twanging two-stringed mandoline with a dried gourd for sounding-board	
tok—	core of anthill	
tok—	to peck, to cut into pieces, bite (as snake) shatter.	
tekku—	to cause to	
tok—	to cheat	
-oi—	to pretend	
tokna—	fraud	
tonta—	dynamite	
toin—	throat	
tomok-tumok—	drum	
taa	peacock's feather	POB. taha-fan-shaped nosegay;
tak—	to be tired	Pkt. thokk—stop, tired
taka—punfa	tired and weary	
takla	large hambo-mat with raised fringe for drying paddy.	Hal. takra, Bastar. tokna basket
tanlaowa	griddle (iron)	
taggi	hurtleaxe	Ar. D. tuka-tonga-sword
taggiysicgiyn	axe hatchet for hewing wood	
tsaiit	mat, of bamboo laths	T. tallu; km. tali-leaf screen; Pkt. tatti-fence.

tan—	to stretch, pull	←tanoto, tanoyoti
tan	place	
tane	at the place	
tano uni	from	
tap	to smoke, suck	Ar. D. toppo—tap, blow
taper	dirt that comes floating and settles on the bank	Mar. tepu-mound, O. tapu.
tapra	joke	
tar—	to signal	
ali	rafter	Sand. tolan-beam rafter, P O B. 4)ali-thatching.
ta	upright vertical	anti-standing upright, Pkt. thoo
-Qi	to stand	upright
kauri	wood arranged in	carrying pole vertically.
—ganza	luncloth	
—mōidan	moon	
tak/takna	right, accurate	
takra	sloppy land	H. tekra-billcock
takoi	jest, joke	
taklai—	to instigate	
tingai—	to erect, raise up	Ar. D. things-tall
tingri bet	hunting birds and small game	
tip	topmost, highest point	Kumaoni, N. tippo-hill top
tipar—	to drip	
tipra pani	dribble, drip drop	
tipra	small basket	W. O. tupla,; H. topri
tera	bird's intestine	
teroi	sour (shangu)	←tikto
trika	anus	Bh. W. O.
—sacas—	to loaf, lounge aimlessly	
turira lok	rude	
tulo	hole	T. ture Kan. turi, W. O. talo-
—masa	fieldmouse	breach in ridge
tuni	towel, neck cloth	

tak—	to break	◀trifle
tuta	fingerless	
rog	leprosy	
teta gac	pollard, stump	
tura	orphan	Bh. Munda, Ar. D. thania
tukai—	to gather, amass, pile up	
tulai—		
tula-bak—	wholesale selling	
tak—	to raise, lift up	
tekai—	incite, baiter	
teka ot—	to erect, set upright,	
tekna	prop up	
	to lie, recline, lean against,	
	supporting wedge	
tekoy laq	an edible insect	W. O. tekay-wasp
ten	stalk, bludgeon	
tebeboci	small	
tecia	flat	
tempciya	boastful	◀Temper
ter		
teri dek—	to squat	Ar. D. teroko
te(aduna	a deformed person,	
	unequal in height, swry.	
tel—	to push, shove	
telik—	to topple down	
telkau ne—	to drive pushing	
tele	bunch, cluster	O. thola
teson	Station	
toki	girl	◀toko-infant
tola	Bassia latifolia	DNM lolonko, Hal. torn; Pep. tola; W O tul
tokra	old man	Pkt. dukkro
dogor	tunnel, path through forest	H. Mkh. Guy.—road, Kan. dogru-hole in wall or ground.
dogot—	to jump, walk with	W O dog—, Bh. dogay, Ar. D.—
	long strides	dog-step, stride.
ai-	to fly as bird, to swoop.	
dogon lok	who walks in that manner	
dogo		verbal Noun



qongor	mountain	DEN. qutqoro; Sh. G. qogor Ar. D. taikco > qungor-hill
boqol	slope	
qongorani	a kind of bean	qongor + rani
qogqa	crater, bucket weaver's shuttle	<droqi
qongqi	nose-ring	O. qongqi
qongqasun	prostration	
qabq	basin at tree root.	H. qabor, Mth. qobura, Am. qabur
qor—	to fear	<qora
qerua		
qorkubyn	tumid, tumorous	
qas—	to cling to, adhere to be possessed by ghost.	Kodak-dasy-to stick, Kalahandi-dys to ignite fire, <akhasnu <qakini
qaura	witch, sorceress	
qil—	drinks water from the roof	
sunguni—	spirit of woman who died in child birth	
qak	to call, buckon, urvine	
qaka ne—	to lead, escort	
qakra	summon	
qak—	to cover	Pkt. qhokko-shuts
qakna	hd, cover	W. O. qhaken
qagru	bag in size	O. qagore
qan	staff peg	Mal. qonkon, Kan. qongi, qange, Pkt. qange-stick.
qangiyn	coffin	
qakra	gong	O. qengura-kettle drum
qai—	tight	Tel. qaso-stiffness, Mar. qat—tight
qaije ko—	to insist	
dar.	to grasp, hold firmly	
qajamut	fully, in whole	Dr. qata, tata-full, hard.
qanda	sugarcane	W. O., qanda —dooqo
qandqi	shaft joining plough with yoke	O. qandqi
qandqi	coffin	—dandqi
qapu	drum	W. O. qhapo
qab-	to shut put a cover on	
qaba	a container, canister	
qabna	lid	W. O. qhapo

qabu	money	Tel. ; Apw dobbo (Telang)
—bād—	to pay in advance	
qai—	to spelt, pour out	
qai	small leaves	—qolo leaf
—maliya	full of shrubs	
qala	basket, shallow tray	Pkt qala
qia goq :	threshold, porch	
qin qinga joi	watery	
qja	eyeball	Hal. qima-eye
qnda	unmarried youth	Bh
qen	water bubble	
	egg	qumho
qma	pillar made of pebbles	Ar D dhumma-lump.
qar	tendrils, tender shoot.	Pkt. qur-saw shoot, Mar
—mci—	to send out creeping tendrils	
qai	loose, lax,	Pkt qhallo-slow
qas—	to be seen, appear in sight	O. disiba
qua	ladle, spoon	Pkt. qova/qoa-wooden spoon, H. qoa
quk	to drink, gulp, sip	O., Ass., Beng. -to enter
qugra/u	jealous envious, who does not make equal share.	
qugre—	to complain for more	W. O. qurj-to peep, look stealthily
(jan-qugra)	continually	O. quli
qufi	round paddy storing bale made of straw rope.	Hal., Parsi
qut	bud	
quua	earthen winepot	
quua mac	eel	Cp. du ruka-luffa aegyptiaca
quuaqga	a musical instrument	
qunda	kidney	--qub-to sink, dive ; W. O. qubal
qubn	a bell-metal cup	—buq(zi) (metathesis)
qum -	to draw water from the river	Hal bamboo spoon
qumna	small spoon	N qumma-fat-bellied eating children and cattle ; Mar. qumna
quma	ghost	
kuris—		
maen		
qumda	naked	
car qumda	fully uncovered	

qumba-ssu	raven	Ar. D. tarékwa-hyena, Baster-
qurka	leopard	taruka Parji-qurka.
qul-	to be down	Knl qol-to lie, Kuvi. qul,ao- to sleep; Bk. qulan
qulzi-	to turn back, to wallow roll down.	Tel. qellu-to fall, shake off
qulte	whole lot	
qusom-	to butt with horns.	O. qhus-to ram butt.
qej-	to jump	—qoyote-flies
qil	jumping	
qewa qemsa	a kind of dance	
qeken	bed-bug	Pkt. dhemsuna, Mar., Hal. uqhekun Laris-qeken; DNM qhenkugo Mar. qhekal; O. dhela.
qekal	clod of earth used for pelting.	—tungo
qen	tail, long, deep.	W. O. qhat, Bk.
qel	wooden handle of axe	Parji-qeli; Ar. D. qancho-stem.
qetaki	stalk	Ar. D. qoyono-bird's flight.
qena	arm, wing	W. O. panga mar—to move one's limb to gather motion
-pangar-	to open wings as birds.	Ku-qepa, Parji-qappa Pkt. qovo; DNM. qobbo; ; Hal. qebri
qep-pu	mound	
qababca	left	
-qena	left arm	
qelonya	lefthanded person	
qemari on-	to stand proudly with protruding chest	
qer	to lean	
qerna qan	a ladder	
qela car qela bat	four point crossing	
qela	post	W. O. qili-beam,
mul-	main post	
du.am-	post on which beams rest.	
qelka	tarash	cp Punj, N., H -qhoikana
-qe-	to give a jolt	
qor	rope, cord	Ar D qovoro-string Pkt. dore Skt. doriko
qol	drum	
qols	a closed utter for carrying earth.	
tagor	coloured thread	Pkt. taggo-golden thread; Parji taga-wire

tond	mouth
-oi-	to shout, brawl
-kor-	to howl
-pat-	to gape
-bajai-	to chirp
tondai	quarrelsome
tota	stammerer
-oi-	to stutter
top-	to bury
tope ramai	rooted stone slab.
top-	to be boiled
topai-	to boil, warm up
topot	boiled
topia	hot
tober	tranquil, slow stream
tome	you (plural)
toebu	melen
tori	oil-sediments
torias-	to wash off
tol	below
tolua	ill advised man
tola kata	bad advice
tos-	to cultivate
tasu	peasant
toqu	corn husk, chaff
toari	wire
tai	flat frying pan
gak	short
taku	not very heavy
gaji	weighing balance
tapo	a kind of crocodile.
taf	a sheaf

## Ar D tundo

W O. toghen-witch

Hal. tota, Parji-totr, O. thod

Kol tapp-to plant seeds,  
Ar D. -H. topona-to hide; O. pot.

—topto

—stobero

Pers.

Ar. D tarika-skin of milk—  
Pak. tar-oily substance floating  
on squids, Pki.  
thoro-cream

## Ar D toso

—toso

Ar. D toso-reel or rod or  
shuttle in which thread is wrappedPki. tovia, H. Kumaon, Sind +  
tai, W O. earthen pan

—sthoka, (opp. dca)

Tel tokwa-ess.

Pers. tozau

cp. O. talora

Dr D. -Kuwi. tap-to scratch  
out, Gadba. tajana-to dig, scratch

tālu	hot	
tālu	cover of leaf -cup	Pah. tālika-flat bowl
tātiya	flat frying pan	Dr. D.-T. tātam, Tel. tāta <sup>1</sup>
		Ar. D. tapaka
tator kata	false, made-up story	
tatra/iya	sly	
taper	silt	
tapi	trowel	O. thape-flat piece of wood used by potters for patting clay; N. thapi-mason's patten
-kariya	mason	
tapenga	a kind of black ant	
-pura	its nest (a delicacy)	
tapi	palm	
-mar-	to clap	T. toppolisu; O. tali
tabla	big pan, brass bowl	—tamrika—tambiya-copper vessel <sup>1</sup>
tama	copper	—tamra
tama kuṭia	slow, weak, delicate	
tamut-	to grope	Wo. tamot, Ch. G. tmut; Tel. tarmu-to grope, to scrape with a toothed instrument
tar para	snake	
tara	star	
len-	morning star	
ruula-	constellation	
ponḍka dām-	(stars) in pair	
taru	coaltar	
taria	rain shielf made of leaves.	cp. Kudali irla
tal	cymbal	
tal	plate	—sthal
talū	skull	
talū	long tethering rope for bullocks in threshing.	
tar—	to command, reprimand.	—tayar, Pers-Arb. (N D).
kor—	to make, produce an artifact	
-lok	rich man	
tuga	wire	Parp. tag—thread; Kudali taga—jute; pkitrgge—gold thread.
tut	oil pressing device	etc; Pkt. triggo-gold thread Dr. D. -T. tiri-churning, tiri—to turn, revolve, Tel. tiri—twist trugala-hand mill, Parji. Hal. pti oil press.


tutli belā	tamarind pickle	
tin	three	
guaiya dor	three—strung rope	
tip—	to drip/drop	DNM thuppo-drop down, Parsi tip.
tiprai	drop	
tiprai	to sprinkle	
tipani de—	to carry water in the hand	
tipal—	to sprinkle with the fingers	Ar. D tapote-sprinkles.
tipul kata	hearsay	
tipiya	who carries tales	
tir	woman	stri
tron pari	calm and clean water	sturo
tui	you(singular)	
tuk—	to spit	Pkt. ihukke-spittle
upai		—
tutunga		
tutungi-ne	to snatch away	O. turum—to sip with hand
tunḡri	Trichosanthes Cucumerina	Ar. D. tumburu.
tutari gan	prod. good, ploughers sick	Ar. D. tottra, Pkt totto, Man tutatu
tan—	to sew, darn	—tunna-torn cloth
tan		
—por	to be silent	—tunni
tun	tent	—coma
tuna	bottle gourd	Ar. D. tymbho, Ch. G. tun ti
tunta	swollen	
tumeli	yellow wasp, hornet	Tel. tummeda-beetle, Kurukh tumbel, POB. tumbi—a poison ous insect.
turjula	scaffold (spreading paddy over which heat is given from underneath).	
turta	fresh	Hal. turte—tvora, W. O. turti- quick
tul—	to weigh	tolbyoti
tula—	to test, equalise	
tulca	balance	
tul—	to roll a cigar, to clean with a fan	
tula—	to card cotton	

uliya	roof, pillars of thatched house	O tuli ridge of a triangular thatch, Mar. tuli beam, W. O. roof
tei	there	
tege	—that big	
teue	—that side	
tebe	—thence	
temet	—that way	
teitengi de—	to overload	Bh. tēga, O. tēga-sway, unstr. aight.
teitengi—lengē a		
tenjka	chameleon	Kan. tonjo, Tel. tonja-chameleon, Ch. G teika; W. O. tote-nga; Hal. tenjka-house lizard halam tenjka-chameleon.
alan tenjka		
ten—ka	to that side	
teb—	to check, stop	Hal. Bh. Ch. G.
tebe!—	to restrain	—shōmbhāe
ter	thirteen	
terka-tenja	sexy	
terepete	hasty	
telani	earthen griddle	N. tilani-a pot to keep sesamum; O. telaani.
telpa	smart, vigorous	Kan. tōpupa, Tel. tōuku-hare slunc
toti	chia	Pkt. thoja-tree trunk, branch— thoqda -chun (Ar. D.)
tomena	snout	Hal. thotna
tol—	to pick, raise	—toloyon, tuloyon
dol	brain	—dadhū-curd
dok—	to pant, sob	dhogg-throb, gliter
doki jiba	to blaze, be inflamed	
dokol	possessions	Pers. dokhol
doga	hollow	O. dōva-thick and hollow
dōjka	shower	O. domka
dod—	not to keep a promise to give	
dodia	cracked, worn	O. dōdora
dona	leaf cup	Ar. D. droja-wooden trough, a measure of capacity —dona iz Lahnda, Punj kumsoni

dobor	to tip	Ar D. dōpōr-rūpa, Pkt. dōvai
—pba		
—palasba		
dōm—	to settle from flowing	Skt. dōmṣ
dōmai—	to sink, subdue, check	
dōmōk	Plain rocky land, terrace on hill top	
dōmōs—	to threaten	
dōmai—		
dōron		
myi—dōrop	main post of a house	Ar D. dhōrona-supporting— N. large beam, Mar main pos
dōmā	a thing	—dōvyo
m—dōrbā	poor, have-not	
dōrom	kindness, gentle	
—kōr	to gaily	
dōrtōni	Earth	Bh. dōrti
dōrpon	mirror	
dōrom	thick (op. patō)	Pers.-heavy; Pkt. dōla-lump O. dōlka-clog of clay
dōl dōl—	to shake, quaver,	
dōl	top	
dōsa-bar	funeral ceremony held after tenth day of death.	
dōsa-sula	second thread worn by ledeṣ.	Ar D. dōsa-unwoven thread; DNM. dōsara-goldenthread
dōsna	steep deep	dhōsa-fall, Mar dhōs-tēgga slope, O dhōsa-a place from which earth is falling down
dōra	Sept-October	
dānōi	a rope by which bullocks are tethered to go round in treading paddy sheaves chum each other with hands in dance	dāmon-rope—Pkt. dāmon, W.O. dāi
dōo	distasteful	
daka	push, strike	
—dō	to shove	
dānṭa	eligible boy	Mar dhāṅṣā-rude, loudish
dara	sting, fang	—damsiro—Pkt. dāṣha, O. darbo
dāṭi	line, row, army	*



dandam	watchman, Chowkidar	dandapaisak
dāt	tooth	
—gpt—	to grin, talk	
—ret—	to brush	
dāton	tooth-brush	—dantapavono
cift	its fibres	sistī sikh—anything chewed and spit out
dāto(a)	gums	Ar. D. thoṭṭa, Mib. thoṭha—toothless
dādor	a fishing basket.	Hal dandar, Parp-candar Ar. D. dantur—having projecting teeth.
dādra	cover, cap	Mar —cloth tied over vessel— Ar. D. dōdoro Kumaoni dador—slits on a roof to which tiles are fastened.
—bād	to fasten cover with leaf	
dan	paddy	
dap.re	fast, early	
dape kor—	to hurry up	
daba	suit	
—dari	plaintiff	Pers.
dām(1)	small coins	dromeo. Ganjam-dam(1)—one pee H. dam(1)-1/4 or 1/8 of paisa Kumaoni. dumeu-1/16 anna; Sherah introduced copper coins called 'dame', its 1/4 damra and 1/8 damari
dām(1)	heifer, steer	Ar. D. dōmya-tameable, Pkt. dōgam bullock to be tamed
dar—	to hold, cling to; to bear frut	
dara-paṭia	to rape	
dara-muska—	to grab and fight	
dara---	to castrate, geld	
dara	deep-water	H. dhara-deep
dar	sharp	
dari	prostitute	darika Pkt. daria-burka
darola	lusty person	Pali darī-female slave of war
daru	wood	Ar. D. pisos of wood
dik-dik—	to flicker	
dag	to shine, dazzle	dhukote-kindles, about to burn
dagol	lustre	

dia	day	
dunke	daily, frequently	Nahal-dinoka
din-jiba	to last longer	
dip-tohya	twilight	
diah	Oct-November	
dire	slowly	
diwari	priest, doctor	diakarin-directing; Middle Beng- pilot.
 dari ne--	teibering rope to lead animals	daman, Pah-dau, Parj. dogs
dof	smoke	
--mosla	tobacco	
dunr	doorway	
dunr--	to carry from one place to another repeatedly.	Hal to bung.
dui	two	
meona bai	distant cousin	
duata	doubling, second ploughing	diwito, dwdhoro
duuri	must	dhumer, Hal dhuuri; Mar dhuri-furigation. D NM dhumeri
duk	to fan	dhaksyote-kindles, Parj. duka, W O. dhuka-winp dhukiba-to fan
dukna	fan, bellows	Hal dhukna, N. dukroa.
duk--	to ache, pain	
duka	pain, illness	
for duka	fever	
duka de-	to hurt, injure	
duki	poor	
duk duk--	to beat, palpitate	
dukan	shop	Pers
dungiya	tobacco	dhumodganka Hal. dungya
dungm--	to give smoke	
duja	basket used for plucking flower.	
du r u m s/	waterfall	
duquma		

<b>dud</b>	milk, breast	
— <i>deŋ</i>	teat of beasts, nipple of udder.	
— <i>mungŋ</i>	nipple of breast	
— <i>poŋ</i>	papeya (ananas)	
<i>pil</i> —	to milk a cow	
<i>bu</i>	one's own brother	
<b>duo—</b>	to shake (a tree)	DNM. <i>dhun—</i> ; Ch. G. <i>dhun—</i> ; W.O. <i>jhun —</i> ; Ar. D. <i>dhun-</i> ; shake
<b>duna</b> -	to fold (a cloth)	<i>dyigupo dugupo</i> , Ch. G. <i>duna</i> ;
car <i>duna</i>	four-fold	W.O. <i>duni-double</i>
<b>dunu</b>	bow	<i>dhon</i>
<b>dunni</b>	incense	<i>dhapona-incensing.</i>
<b>dub—</b>	paddy to abort, i. e. to lose the seed inside	
<b>duna</b>	fat,, inflated thack	Ar. D. <i>dumboko-fat-tailed sheep</i> ;
<i>dunŋi</i>	fem.	Parj <i>duna-grey</i>
<b>duma-tuna</b>		
<b>dur</b>	rag	
<i>duriya</i>		
<b>duruj/durja</b>	daredevil, wicked	<i>durjono</i>
<b>dulam</b>	beam	Hal. <i>dulum</i> ; Puri- <i>dula</i> ; Ganjam <i>dulam-beam for loft.</i>
<b>dull</b>	dust	
<i>sora bai/</i>	rice taken during marriage rites	
<b>dus—</b>	to refuse a help offered	
<b>dusor—</b>	to churn (curd)	<i>dvisoro-two strings.</i>
<i>dusra dan</i>	churning stick	
<i>up</i>	knob at the head	
<i>jukni por</i>	strings	
<b>dusra</b>	separate or different from others	
<b>de—</b>	to give	verbal Noun
<i>dis</i>		
<b>deor</b>	younger brother of husband	<i>devoro</i>
<b>deuras</b>	fem.	Hal. <i>deuran</i>

deul	temple	
dek	to see, look at	
dekai—	to indicate, point out	
dob	white	dhouta
—oiba	to fade colour	
doba	washerman	
—cena	peas	
doe	guilt, fault	
—op—	to admit, confess	
—kor	to rape	Euphemias'
bād	to accuse	
do	nine	
noki	brass or aluminium pot	
nokh	finger-nail	
negol	plough	
—kada	a tuber	
neyer kor—	to aim at	Arb.
no, is	coconut	
—rop	coil	
nonod	husband's sister, wife of husband's younger- brother	
robat	sugar	Pers.
nos—	to deny	
nosai—	to destroy, damage	noyoti-perishes
nat kor—	to forbid, deny	
naik	village headman	
naikri:	fem	
nāo	name	
nak	■	
—denda	nose bone	
—bil	nostril	
—cena	chickpea	
—yik—	to sniff	
—beani	curb, a noose around mouth	Ar D: vopao-dress
nakhi	having nose	

naka	chest	Tel. Kol. (kurwi nakka-jackal);
nakau	to cheat	W.O. forest officer
nakra	defamed, bad	Ar. D. nyokaro-contempt
nag	cobra	
nagseri	flute	nageswan
nāga	naked	
nagri	characterless woman	
ṇaṅgul	ear-ring	
naī	dance, drama	
karīya	actor	
naī govind	dramatic entertainment	
naṛ	to betray, cheat	Skt. nākar nar—, W. O. nariba-
naṛa	to wag, shake, oscillate	naṛou, Mithnorb—to
	betrayal	refuse
naṭa	handle	
	stalk	Ar. D. naṭstubular stalk
nati	grandson	
natiani	grand daughter in law	
nasa	elder brother	Pkt. nānā
naṣ—	to measure	Ar. D. naṣpyote-is made known
		in many N / A naṣ—
nab	umbilical cord, navel	
nal	gully	
nalaa muta	jar with a side hole (spout)	
naṣai kōr—	to judge, arbitrate	
niucas	to sacrifice by sprinkling water	nermoncon
nuta	invitation	Kam. nyuto, N. nuto, Bhoy. neota
nula pan	rain water dropping from	eaves
niko	good, genuine	Skt. niktā, Pkt. nikkā
naṣ—	paddy plants to send forth flowering spikes	naṣai Pkt. naggal-comes out;

nac—	to refuse, deny, resent	Ch. G. nac ( naa-4-acc)
nicoŋ	to be in want	Bh.
nj	own	
njai—	to weed, pull up grass	Ar. D. nirdati-weeds, Skt. n: to rectify; Hal. Parj/hinjay, Bh njay, Hal njani, POB. njhai manba-to puddle paddy plants
njam		
nidarb	poor, have-not	Bh. narela
nida	solid	nirdaraga
nida	blame, condemnation	
ninas	breath	Hal.
nini	small	
	mother's sister	Bh., Hal.-nani
nibor—		
nibai—	to finish, accomplish	Parj nib -to be made read Ar D. nirvrti-accomplish
niman	correct, faultless	Arb. niman-measure
nirgub (kulu)	fan made of bamboo laths for bailing out water	nirgolaga
nirba	clean, natural, untouched	
nirya	blue	
nir—	to whet sharpen on a stone	Ar D. nasyota-whets
nisona	hone	Hal. nichna
nist jag—	to feel tired, dull, powerless.	—nib sotto
nistiya nastayi	idler	
nisane		
nfi munda	village mark	Perk. nisan-mark
nisi-jan	ladder	nihuruni; Kudali-nisani
nua	new	
nun/nun kariya	salt	
no—	to take	
netra	separated	nayokara

poi	shield	prodhi-felly	
poi	the floating stick on a fishing line, a float	W O phui, Bhaj. poi-sugar-cane sapling.	
poita—	to sharpen a blade	O poithe-back of palm, Ar D. praghata-something to rub with Bh. poita-stick for smoothing plaster	
poiti	broth of pulses	N poito	
poima	a visit to a foreign place	Ar D. preyana payana, N. N. pobina-guest, pruhane Laria. pobina-guest.	
poise-mundi	a form of marriage	Hal. probusta munde	
poun	anklet		
poun	shield	phori	
pokal	white mark on body of animals	polaksa-white	
pek—	to ripen, be putrefied		
peku—	to compare	prekape	
paki	feather	peko	
pagon	Feb-March		
pan—	to exaggerate, tell lies, fraud	Palapaguno-clever, Bh. pongon; W. O. pongiba-	
pongal	deceitful	to talk incoherently, to wish ill of others	
pongu-mod	pure and strong wine.		
poc	back, last		
—keda	lagging behind		
poc poc jiba	to follow		
pocs	the backyard		
poc—	to reach	Pia. potuoco-reaches probbena-much (Ar. D)	
poj—	to paint	poj—	
poi	chaff	T. poi-u-chaff, Tel. potto-bark; Parj. pot-grain in embryonic stage, Hal. potk-wings	
poi poi—	buffalo to wallow in mud		

potā	belly	Dr. potia; Pkt/paita
potki nobat	sugar candy	
potkar	wicked, fraud, impious	N. phōti-lar, O. potkaba-to inveigle,
potam—	to be spoiled by getting wet	
paq	Nov-December	Hal. pang
pandit-kariya	scholarly	
paṭwa (1)	vagabond, idler	Ar. D. paṭṭa-eunuch, weakling; O. paṭṭa-proud, impotent
poi	to read	
poia	split, chip, strip	—paṭa-a split
poi.	a small unit of measure	Ar. D. poia; Tel. poi-lā seer
poroi	a kind of tree	
potar	leaf, page	
potri-kan	ear lobe	
—man—	to collect rice from door to door for a festival.	
pati	bow-string	paṭti-lina, row; Parj.—
podam	palm	Hal. podam hat, Parj. podam
podmek	handful	
poda	land for wheat, maize, etc.	Ar. D. podhara-level, straight Hal. poder
—kars-ya	man in charge of field side	during hunting.
podna	right moment, momentous job.	
podor	fifteen	
ponas	jackfruit	
popos	lungs	Ar. D. phupphusa-
paliya	fat person	
pob	arm, part between two joints	Ar. D. prōda-fore part of foot.
pobot	pure, sacred	←pavata
por	who is not kn	
porasta		
por—	to swim	Ar. D. prastata-crosses



poru poraru	next year year after next	porovo; poru-last year, poran- year after next and also year before last
porj— porajna porja	to fry with oil and spices farmer, tenant	Ar. D. porjvoti-burns po- porjot-blazes up
poru-bag porja	a witch scuttle, basket	Ar. D. porjgruho Mar porje wooden bowl
pol pohi pol	fruit, to bear fruit tree with fruits chaff	Ar. D. poavo
poi— pola polok pola / tepola poli	to chop-vegetables coral rope on yoke gratia bee wax	pollovo, W. O.— provalb N. polo, Kumaon. polo-bee hive
polok	unsubstantial soft part below the bark	
polkai polka	to make hollow hollow tree	
polai pajoi pa— poi—	paddy paid to herdsman during harvesting winnowing fan (big) to get, to hit, strike causative	Ar. D. palai-herdsman, W. O. pola.
paik	soldier	Pkt paikko-footsoldier, messenger
paiji	Job, daily avocation,	prar sti-work
pai— oi-kor-, paijal paida	to work to shave labourer loan for fixed period (bu.da-Orings area) pay foodgrains towards interest of loan.	Arb-kantar man—to
pau / paula pau pau pau	foot a quarter niche in wall guard	

paars	guard, watch	probon
bat—	gate-man	
pak	near, side	poko
—oe—	to lump aside	
pakri	petal	poksmoe-filament of flower
pakna	stone	pasapo, Bh. Hal, Ch. G.W.O
pag	turban	pogga-head dress
pagor	gap, aperture	O. phanko
pagan	mound over burial site	
pagi—	to chew the cud,	Ar. D. vyagoloyou, proguro-chew
paN—	to malign, bewitch	W. O. to wish evil, Ganjam-to enchant, Puti-to subjugate by punishment ;
paigon	magic, sorcery	Mar. pagne- to crush into piece
paNnia	sorcerer, exorcist, wicked, trickster	Ar. D. probho rgo-breaker, crusher Hal pan pingolo-magic
pangar—	to wrap the body	Pkt. pangurao-cloth, garment pangurui-covers
paN i	gate,raft	W. O. paguri, piagrho ho'd ag in front.
pac—	to ripen	
pāca kar —	to suppurate	
pāc	five	
pac—	to, medi ate, resolve uneasiness	Ar. D. paocoti-spreads out arranges O. pāc—
pācar —	to ask	
pacia	loincloth	pacopato, W. O. pāc
pacura	blood lessness	
pajai	to sharpen (at the black-smith).	Ar. D. prajvolyoti
pāji —pota	almanac	
pājori	roof-frame	
pajer	toll collected from passershy during festivals.	
pajra	a spring where water—we is up.	DNM pajhara-to flow, Mar. pajhar.
pājta	rib	
pai—	to get torn	spetbyoti

peja:	cloth (lady's)	Ar. D. pots-woven cloth, Parj., patey, Bb. pheta, Hal.—phetai menstruation cloth,
petas	to send	A. D. protata: Pali pot-hapeti-sends.
pala —mar tar	harrow, rake to rake, level to saw	Tr. D. porto-slab, tablet
petal:	to fold arms	prosthara-sp. cading out, Ass. pethali-extending cross wise,
palai dar	-to embrace	W. O. putlai-to hug, embrace; O. to wallow together
patia	the wall plate of a thatched house	O. patia-wooden plank
musa	the top ridge of a house	
pa,-gor	untenanted house	
patia-poda	fallow land, pasture	
patia —gor	base socket of arm front leg, ramp	Ar. D. sphata, Pkt. phatā
pat-e,	to pass wind from the stomach	Ar. D. pordo-fart
patara	man with swollen body	
patua	man without work	
pançoi	shoes	Ar. D. upanch; Skt. panca dhm. Hal. panhi-chappal
pançra	fair-skinned person	Ar. D. pança, Bb. Hal, Mar.—
patol	thin, alick, sparse	Ar. D. potralo-leafy Pkt.—potulā-thin
patiya		
pati	ridges in between furrows.	Ar. D. pato-breadth Punj. patā space between two lines of ploughed land
patia	thin strip of bamboo latb.	Dr. D. T. patiat-palmura timber, rafter, Te. patia-bar or span of wood
patli	earthen pot (medium)	patro porato patli, Pers.—patila
pad	foot	
pāid —or—	trap to set	N. D.—Pers. food, probandho

padr	prostitute	T. pafiru, polli-harlot, lawless, Tel. pajucu-to prostitute oneself, poradaraka ?
padra	(male)	
pani	water, rain	
—mar—	to rain	
tipro	drizzles	
—ka(al)—, capai—	to irrigate	
jik—	to soak	
sar	to urinate	
—utram	cloth for the nark in a marriage.	
guna	large pot to store water	
—potor	worship	
pausa	comb	pravepa
	weaver's comb in loom	
panu	tax	Tel. pansu
pasu	the right condition, right moment, season.	Kan. poqpa-to make ready, equip, decorate, Tel. panna-to contrive, design, suitability
pap	sin	
papesi	sinner	
papr—	to expulse, shake out or thrash away	prapu'no
	water from a wet cloth.	
pabi	hall	porvato, W O. pabuli
pamr—	to talk in sleep, to talk irrelevantly.	pamara-foot, farmer
par—	to be able	
par	cave	Kan. pa'ju-place of refuge for an malt, po'oku-crevice, cave-Tel. , POB. pahara-a succession of mounds, paru-low
para	perhaps, like	porom, prayo
paras	pigeon	paravato
paraka	two-passa coin	Tel. paraka (Srikakulam Dist.)
pal	ploughshare	phalo
pal —	to put forth new leaves	pollovoyoti; Mar. pabvne
paluam cog—	new leaves to come out	N. paluunu, H. pabvna.
pal buri	a kind of grass	

pala →gari	plant, seedling, plantation seed bed	pollova, O pola, Hal. pala agaro
Palai— palane jiba	to go away, flee	
palei—	to repair	Bh. pabryoti
pali	nib	Tel-pali, nib; T. pali-tooth.
pali	edge, margin, bank	Parj.—boundary, Hal. poi— (Dr Telang: para—ila)
pali	once, turn, time.	T. i—ppai—this side, hereafter, Skt. paryaya
paltu	returnable	Pkt. pollo(i)—overturns.
palda	Erithrina indica	Skt. parivodro, O. palodhua.
payal	hay, crushed straw	Ar. D. polab—stalk, straw.
pas —ot—	trap, snare to set	Ar. D. spaso—noose
pasr— pasarp	to forget, ignore. forgetful	pramoro(i)
pasl—	to take a turn	Ar. D. paravolo Pkt. pasallo— relating to the tide; Parj. Kol. passat—side.
paslai— pasli dek—	to turn over to look back	
pat—	to throw away, to drop, let go off	
pick—	to knead, wring, squeeze	Ar. D. picoyoti—presses flat; Tel. piseku—to squeeze, T. pico— kku.
piku dar— pika nola	to hold, grip. sprayer, syringe.	
picasu bayu	flend, dried brain	Mar. pesa-mad—Sind. pisau-mad
pi—	to whip, beat to hammer, ram	pisacc
piina—hammer		
pi—	to divulge make loose'	ignore, miss a target aimed at
piji	back	splutati
pinja	versodah	pinjo—lump, clod,
pinjri	shin, calf	Guj. pinjli, Mar. pinjo pinjo
pit	bite	
pitoli	bram	
pider	inner room	pir—grho
pfd—	to put on	panodho
pipol	Ficus religiosa	pappolo berry

pipi—	funeral	Ar. D.—Guj., Lahandaupipi = reed of pipe
pura	spleen	
piri	straw, thatching grass, thatch, roof	Kol. Kui.—piri, Tel. puri ; Ar. D. pūṣṭa piri crushed straw
sum-	thatching grass	
andi—		
pil	interest, offshoot,	Ar. D. —Guj.—sprout, shoot.
pilka	newly got twigs, shoots	
—mel—	to spread branches while growing up	
pil	to milk a cow, squeeze out juice.	Ar. D. pāyati, Pki. pūli Parj. pel.—milk, pod—to milk Gond.—pur, Kudali pil -to wring twist, milk.
pila	child	T. pilā, Tel. pīlo
pilaru	woman with new baby	
—putai—	to hatch egg	
pai—	to sled, slip, trap	picchō—slimy, slippery
puk—	to belch, blow	phutko—pkt phukkō
puc—	to erase, wipe off	prachoti
puci	proxy	Tel. pucci personal recogni- tance executed by witness to appear in the court on the fixed day of hearing.—POB
puj—	to sacrifice, offer to god, to kill by cutting the throat	
pujari	priest	
puj	pus	puyo
puj—		
puta	to make a hole, break, expose a secret, reveal	
puta	hole	
puj—	to bloom	
put	hamlets	T. potta, Tel. potlu hamlet.
puti	unit of measure (20 man-l pot.)	T., Tel. puti—500 lbs.
puṣa	condiments used to flavour curry	
puṣa	container made of leaves	putko
puṣa	buffalo -calf	Ar. D. paṣṣo Mith. paṣara
puṣa	corpulent, swollen body	Ar. D. puroṣa O puroṣa roll of rice made of flour poroker O —paṣara—farting.

paṇḍ -	to rest, comfort, pant, breathe	Tel. paṇḍu -to lie down, Paṇ paṇḍ
paṇḍa	breathe	
-ṇik	to inhale	Ar. D. apunīoti—expands
-cat	to exhale	phunḍo—to smell, inflate.
poṇ paṇḍa	who breathes heavily	
sas paṇḍa	panting	
putla	idol, image, pupil of eye.	Ar. D. putole
puḍi	vagina	Ar. D. putc.—buttocks, Pkt. putaro—vulva, Kum. phuddi
puṇ -	to sift, winnow	Ar. D. punati purifies. Ch. G. punne, DNM. puvc.
puṇi	and, again	
puṇeṭ -uṇi	full-moon, bright half of month	
puḍi	muzzle put on cattle	
puṇ	layer, fold	puṇ—filing
puṇ	flood	Hal phur, Skt. puṇ-water, current, lake
-ṇal	rain water drains, natural waterways	T. puṇal, Kan. poṇal stream, river, flood
puṇ-	to enter	puṇyoti—fills
puṇat	to shut in, push in,	
puṇa -	to blow in, pervade	
puṇa—ṇiḥ	early night	
puṇon	full	
puṇa	old, worn out	
puṇi	lily, reed	Ar. D. puṇkma lotus, H. puṇin
puḷ	flower	phulā—blossoming
ḷosa-	to embroider	
pu -ṇandri-	twilight	
ḷider		
puḷ-	to swell, puff up, bloat	
puḷera	swollen	
puḷa -ḷia	a sweet made of parched rice.	O. ukhuṇa
puḷka	hollow, corpulent	
puṇ	Nov-December	
puṇi	semen	Bh. puṇya, W. O. phusi: Balasore-phusa (anus), Ar. D. puṇya vigour, puṇya wet N. phusi-semen, Kum. dirt on penis.

pengar—	to open wings as birds.	Tel pengotunda-to part wide, Kam penga-apart
pej	rice broth, scum of boiled rice.	peya
bedna—	rice and millet mixed	
lai—	only millet	
—bala	forenoon	
pet	belly	
—ci—	to conceive a child	
peti	young hen	posho-young animal penthi
pāpam	rice-beer	
penja	cluster, sheaf, tassel.	
pengi	oil-cake	Ar. D. peđa-hemp
perfi	box	
pepul ul—	to bobble as fluid	Hal pepul, W. O. phephol-foam
perka	limping, straddling	
pei	rectified	Ar. D. polo
pei—	to push, shove	prelyoti-seis in motion
peti ji—	to dare, disregard	Bh.—
pes—	to send	presotyti
peson	(Verbal Noun)	
po	son	Ar. D. pota-young animal
po-nati	grandson	
—huari	daughter in law	
pokta	ripe, matured	pokvsho pakoſb-rice
potri maiji	pregnant woman	
p oſ—	to burn, roast	poſ—
por	buffalo-bull	prauſho, Pkt. podho-grown
jaſ-poſ	bison	up, capable, Mth. poſa-stou robust, H. porh-bag.
pou t-poo ſai	dirty, ugly	pluho-wantonness, W. O.— puher-filthy, slovenly
Poti	book	
pos—	to adopt	posotyti-nourishes
posua po	adopted son	
boſ-jal	a circular casting net	vrio-requd



bəʃa	armlet	H. babuša
bəʃd	medicine	voidyo
bəʃra	envy	
—kər	to cast the evil eye	
bəʃra	deaf	bəʃlura
bəʃsak	April-May	
bəʃun/bəʃni	sister	
bəʃra	spinning-top	bəʃmərə
bəʃra	gnat	
bag—	bumble-bee	
—moca	dragon-fly	
bək	crane, egret	
bəkul	bark	vəʃkələ
bəkʷa	bill-goat	bəkəʃə-kid, lamb, Pkt.— bəkəʃə, Bh. bokora.
bəkʷ—	to prattle, play jokes	Pkt. bokor-laughter
bəʃ—	to ride	Ar D vəʃə-leap vəʃə-rein, vəʃəʃti Pkt. vəʃəʃə-goes, W O. bəʃə-to ride, climb
bəʃri	whirl-pool	
bəʃc -	to rise	vəʃəʃə moves
bəʃka	bundle, packet	Turkish-buqa, Ass. bokəsa— load carried on back
bəʃa	finger-tip	vəʃəʃə-something round?
—mar—	to snap fingers	Tel. bəʃəʃə-drop
bəʃol	any	W. O. buʃi-small; Hal. bəʃki— round-shaped
bəʃəʃəʃə	a small bird	Ar D vəʃəʃəʃə-quail, partridge O. bəʃəʃəʃə
bəʃ—	to grow	Ar D. vəʃəʃəʃə-bag;
bəʃəʃəʃə—	to increase	
bəʃ—	to attain puberty	euphemical
bəʃ	aged, elder, senior	
bəʃli	elder wife	

boṣadriya	good eater	
boṣ tənḍ	loud	
boṣ jiṇṇa	lōk/richman	
boṣ munḍi	cali/big black ant, pismire.	black
boṣ gac	banyan tree	
boṣu	asūt	
boṣu	father's brother	vodro-an elder
boṣe maṣ	very big	(maṣ=weight, measure)
oṣ	stone of a frout	Ar D. voṣa-small lump, Pah- voṣka-thickening bulb, tuber
boṣa-sap	viper	vodra
baṣu—		
dud—		
boṣi	angling hook	boṣio
boṣki	navy	W. O. bandki-naval hole
—ḍokri	nurse	
..buru	ceremony of cutting the navy of new born babies (bond-to divide, circumcised man, un- chaste woman-POB)	
botar	like	voṣ
botr—	to moisten, saturate with water	Sind. votraupṣ
botar	proper wetness for agricultural operation	Ar D. voptra-sowing, seed land, Bb, Hal., Santaḍi.—
—pau	first run to start ploughing	
—kiṛa	winged white-ant seen in rainy days	
botu—	to direct, teach, reply.	votro, Pkt. votra-talk
boti maru	fire-fly	voti-wick, lamp.
boto	bull	votub, cp. Tel. boṭu, T.— ponṭu
	castrated	Skt. vadhri
bodra	waste-land	Bahare, bodhna-damp; boda- ria-jungly, Guj. vōgro-waste land, H. boṛor

bodru-pakna	perdle
bodrek	some amount
bond	door-frame
bendin	ligature
bedar	cholera
bodj—	to exchange
bodia-odla	
bodok	colour
—lagai—	to paint
bem	blood
—bedar	dysentery
bopa	health, strength
bobja	toothless
bomar—	to talk in sleep
bomh	navel
boms—	to cast greedy eyes
borg—	to bestow
borol	pimple
bord—	to exceed a target
borot	string, rope
bora	year
boros	courage, daring, bold
—kay	to encourage
borti	full
bera—	to screw, bore
bol	good
boloi	
—ko—	to admire
—pa—	to love
bol -	to spin, twist a rope

vri-brumung, pestling  
 POB. boderiba-to heap up.

POB. bondu—a bit of iron  
 attached to door plate.

Arb.

voraka

voru>red colour

Mar. bobda-baping, O. boba—

Ar D bhorbhora-confused  
 rambling noise.

Hal. bhomb, bobali. Nihali-  
 bumbi; kmi-bomsh

vry-to emit, O. borog-to send  
 to dispute.

—vortoka-something round.  
 Bastar boroth, POB. bira.

W O. borh—

Ar D voratra-strap, thong;  
 H. borat-leather thong, girth

Slit. voroh, H. bhoros

bhorosa

Ar D. bholo—suspicious

Ar. D. vokti—turns, twists

bal-	to flow, let go in water	Ar D vohot, Bh boray
bool	thick, sticky	bahol
boolan-gatra	rituals against epidemic	Hal bohoran
boloktar	by force	belaktar
bolnot kor-	to compel, persist	bolovota
boyo lok	coward	
boyn	dangerous	
bos	fat	Ar D vom-fat, grease, brain
bos-	to sit	Ar D. vohot-stays, dwells
basya-	to curdle, coagulate, precipitate	
bosl-	to demolish, wreck, collapse	Ar D bhrot-collapse, falls down
bu-	brother	
bu-	to carry water	vohot; O. bohba-to bale out, bahba-to lift water
bu-	to wear long	Ar D. vyayoty-spends
bugon	brunjal	vatingno
buda	instalment	Bh.-
bamuta	an unknown person	
bul	cultivational land	Dr D-T vayal, Kan bayil, Tel. bayula-paddy field, agricul- tural tract, Pers. bahal O bahal-settled land, confined land.
buu	wind	
bu-duka	storm	
baun	of outside, outer (one)	ref bar
bauf-	to return	Pkt vahugia-gone
baun	turban for carrying load.	Hal bahad vobco
bault	earring for upper lobe.	
bakas	bamboo	
bānā	flute	
bāk, bākā	curved, twisted	Bh. bakia
bāk-lek		

bāk-adj	empty jar carried by	
bākau-to bend	women to fetch water.	
baka	to hit	Ar D bharta Pkt bhadgo= hire.
am=		
bakra	room, apartment	Ar D vokakaro-basket Pkt= vokharo-granery, H hokhar= house.
koja=	entrance room	
gōj=	inner room	
bakan=	to comment	vaykhano
bakos	riddles	Ch. G. abhasko
bag	share	
bagai=	to divide, distribute	bhagyoti
bag	tiger	
ila daga=	panther	
maca qia=		
poria=		
potrali qurka		
bagni	tiger infested	
bagan=	to slip away stealthy	Ar. D. bhajote=Pkt.=bhoggo fed
bagar	* young she-buffalo	W O. bogar-male, bogari-fem Korku=
bagra	cracked	Ar D. vighote= is broken, W O. bogru-to scatter heaped up things.
bagini=	to spread around, diffuse.	Ar D. vighno Aus. H. bag-to separate. W O. bigliba
big=	to break	
bigia	crack, crease	
bigi	crease	
bangiya	carrying staff	Ar D. volong
kog=	for carrying wood	
sul qat=	for paddy etc.	
bac=	to choose, sort out.	Ar D. vrksno-chooses
baot/bacil	outcasted	
baca	calf	vaiso, opoty=avoco=
beci	flea.	
baj=	to fry	Ar D. berjeto-fries, parch=
baji-sag	frying vegetable	

baj—	to strike, beat a drum	vadyote—made to sound
bajniya	drummer	
bājola	impotent	vādhyā—barren, sterile.
baḥ	to grind, pound	vādyoti—causes to turn
baḥ	way	
kaṇṇa—	sub way	
māla—	untrodden way	
qela—	cross way	
—dekai—	to lead, guide	
—paura	gate-keeper	
bato	elder sister's husband	Hal bhato bhātr.
bata	open field	Tel. vāḥ—vacant, Parj —
poda—		boḥ—bare ground,
ikṛn—		Ar. D. vāḥ—enclosure, garden
—dan	a kind of paddy	Kan boḥa—rice in husk
—potaḥ—	to burn dry leaves	
baḥa	small drain	Ar. D. vāḥ—dike, dam
		Sind. vāḥa—dam between
		fields serving as path.
baḥ—	to divide,	vāḥa—shares
hala kor—	to serve food	
baḥu	slow, idle	vāḥ, vāḥ
baḥ	fence, enclosure	vāḥ
baḥ—	to serve food	Ar. D. Vāḥyoti—divides
baḥan—	to sweep	
baḥi	broom	Ar. AD. vāḥan, Pkt vāḥ—
baḥi	Jacket, Ganji	dhāḥ, Hal baḥa, bōḥa
baḥi baḥi		Bodice ?
		hanyan ?
baḥi	loan of food-grains	Ar. D. vāḥa—giving advance,
		profit, Dr. D. T. vāḥa Tel.
		varakam, Gadba, bari—
		money advanced to farmers to
		be received again. O. Ganjam—
		loan without interest
baḥaḥ	carpenter	vāḥaḥ
baḥaḥ	tailless	Ar. D. vāḥa—tailless, baḥa—
		emasculated, impotent, Tel.
		vāḥi, Hal Parj
		Bh. paḥaḥ

bonjka	short and fat, dwarf	
banda	food given to cowherd	
banjari	boys as wage ha'ber	Ar D-Pali, bhajdu bold, shaven Pkt bhajdu-shaving.
bat	rice	
mukla—	rice, cooked in middle room	
coru—	rice cooked in inner room	
betiya	salary, victuals	
bat sag de—	to thank, pay regards	
bati	vomit	
bad	challenge, laying wager	
bād—	to tie, pack, bind to adopt an animal to enact a role in drama	
bad-a-sada		
bād an dūḍi	kang house	
bada	unit of measure (10 pāl—bondek)	
bandapon	July-August	O. stavona
budal	storm	Ar D vardbā-rainy day
budra	fiercest	(bad-quarrel+ra)
bana	loin cloth	vana, vana-weaving, loom; vornika-actor's dress. O. bana flag.
bana-bat.	ramosa scandens	
bana ma—	to strain with strainer	
bana bosai—	to carve, paint	
o anabōr—	to offer food to ghosts and spirits during a festival	
bana	texture of a cloth	Ar D. vana-weaving
bana-moric	black pepper	vornika> bana
banja	nephew	
ban'ji	neice	
bap	father	Pkt. bappo
—oli	an abusive expression	
bab—	to think, wish, suppose	
bamon	Bramhis	
bama o—	to be bewildered	<bhrāma
baya	insane	
bar	twelve	

bar	outside	
bari	outside buttock	<barika, Lahanda-bhari
bari-	to go out	
bara	load (carried on head)	<baro
baria	boat	<baraha
barik	village headman's Assistant,	Ar D-vapokarin-one who slaves
bal	hair (of eye brow)	
-moni	bold	
ball	sand	
-jairā	a festival (starts before Bhadra full-moon for 10 days)	
balina	cashew nut	Ar. D. bhollato-samecitrpus anacardium, Pkt. bholloya.
baha	bear	
bar-		
slodi-		
balusa	a temporary swing, bower of creepers.	Ar. D. vasakulo-resting place:
bas-	to snatch away,	Ar. D. vyasyoti.-throw away separates, bhrosyoti-falls,
bas ne-	to wash away.	POB. bhas-to be ruined.
bas	odour	
kor-	to smell sweet	
basna	fragrant, perfume	
basā	dwelling house, lodging	<vaso-nbode
basā	language	
-cor	who does not keep his word chapping	Ar. D. varyote-roars, lows, sings
basuṭi		Ar. D. vasobwayoti <O bachi.
barbar-	to throw after	
	swinging around (with a sling shot)-to agitate, mix, scatter.	
bik-	to sell	
bika-bāja		
bags-	to bloom	
blo-	to scatter	<vincoti
bleci	slippery, slippery	<vichoboti
bichya		
bicar-	to think, decide, discuss	<vicar-mode of action, ponder.
bicarak	discussion	Pers. bajar
bjar	disgusting	
-lag-	to feel disgusted,	



bigh	lightning	
bijok	small bowl	Kalahandi. biala—little
bila	hunt wooden arrow	Ar. D. viala—small piece of stick shaped like a barley corn.
bigr—	to be scared	Ar. D. vidravayoti—puts to flight ; Dr. D.—Kan. bedar, Tulu. bedaru
bigrā	very fleet	
bit	tight	
bit --	to diffuse, mix, unite , to accompany, help	Ar. D. vijayoti —fastens, make firm , Parj. bit—join
bitk—	to flash, to be startled	Dr. D. Kan. bedar—alarmed ; Tulu. bedru—fright Parj. bitk ; O. bharakiba
bitam	ant—hill	bita ; Guj. virro
bitbata	irritating, vexing	Hal. deep black.
bitar	inside	
bitri	inner	
bila	linear measure—span from outstretched thumb to little finger	visoti , Parj —bitia.
bid	bracelet	tabij
bid—	to shoot	
bida	plug, gag	
bidda	chisel, iron drill	
bin	different, separate, another one.	
bine		
bines	Bean	
biba	marriage	
udbye—	by elopement	
posamunda—	by compulsion from the girl's side	
sogria—	by paying compensation to the first husband	
buno	spinal meat, the meat around the spine.	
buru	worship	T., Mal. viru—festive celebration
burra	wooden shrap	Bareilly. Ganjam
burumoli	butterfly	Ar. D. vorob—wasp ; O. burupi—
burja	bamboo lath, splinter.	Ar. D. vidala Pkt. badala—split bamboo , Dr. bahr, biduru bamboo , Parj. borja
—bet	to split bamboo.	—bamboo door
bil	hole	

bila	Terminalia belleroca	Ar D. vishadaka, Pkt --bibiho Mar. vaha ,
bilni	cat	
bokra—	male	
bili ji —	to dissolve	viliyote
bilki	tremble, bewilderment	vihvoh
ba	poison	Dr D.—T vacukku, Tel. -
baug	disgust	visaku—displeased, disgusted ; Ar D. visuko
baor	a fish trap made of bam- boo strips	Ar D. vuoco—spreading , Hal.—
baor/god baor	bad smell	Ar. D. visro—musty, smell of raw meat , W/O bieren—fishy smell- ing.
buaa	trust, belief	
—lok	favourite	
buari	younger brother's wife	Ar D. vodhuh—son's wife, vyovoharika—female slave N. buari—son's wife
bui	floor, ground	Hal. bohari
buk	hunger	
bukhya	hungry	
buke ro—	to fast	
buk—	to howl, bark	Ar D. bukkoti
buk	chest	Ar. D. vliko—kidney O. buko
buj—	to realize, understand	budhyote
buj—	to advise, explain	
bujni at	right hand	bhanyote—enjoys, eats
bula	bush, thicket	Ar. D. bufa—bush, plant
buti/botka	dwarfish	Hal., Bh.—botki ; Santali— bulni—tiny ; Ar D. vonte butt ango—stump bodied , Mar. botiga ; Parj botti
bulru par—	(bullock) to low	
buṛ—	to sink, immerse, dip	
buṛi bat	west	
buṛ gali	to purify by bathings after death etc	
buṛiya maN—	to collect alms during Puso festival	
but/butek	much	
but din—ḡ—	to last longer	
bunt	ghost	

bud	service, wages	visi—wages ; Ch. G. buri ;
butar	slave, servant	Bh. buta, butiar , W O. buti— servant.
bud	stalk	Ar. D bundh—bottom Pali— bunda—root of tree ;
budar	Wednesday	Ar. D. varo—appointed time, one's turn.
budra	born on	Pkt. vumano—weaving
bun—	to knit, weave	
buna boi—	to shrink	
bun—	to do wicker work	
bun—	to scatter, straw, sow	vinyoti—scatters, vopano— sowing
bumi	land	
bumi bara	property	
bur	coir (coconut's)	POB. boro—top of palm tree
bur—	to remove feathers from a bird's body	Ar. D. buru—powder Sind. bur feathery excrescences on heads of millet , Nalki. bur—feathers
buri	grass	
buri pan	drizzle	
buri kaja daru	thin pieces of wood	
bursa	robust	vrals ; Kudah. bursa—dirt
bursung	mosquito	Parj. burong , Santahghasi— small flies O. blusaedi—weapon
burustu lok	good person	
bul—	to travel, rove	vyapadeti—goes away off O. bul—, vropi—wanders
bulai bik—	to peddle goods	
bulka	fatty	Parj. knot of tree
buanço	fatty	
bus—	to prick, gore	Ar. D. bursyoti—falls down O. bhue—
busna çan	good	
bek	neck	
—muda	bag	
begi—	to spoil, be angry	Ar. D. vighotote—flies apart, is murred, broken , O. bigai—
begi—	to separate out assorted materials, to strain out water, to diffuse.	Ar. D. vighoti—flows away, viyagmo Pkt. vaggols—sepa- rate, N. Mar , Guy — , W O.— begi—another

ben	frog	vyaṅga
pureri— for —		
oya—		
bauri	toad	
beggai	lock	DNM] bengi—having a fence or enclosure, T. bigamu—key, Koda biga—lock.
bengai—	to spread a heaped mass.	O. bengulai—
bengali do—	to rinse	
beci	Bench	
beja	sense, consciousness	Ar. D. veda—knowledge, mojan—marrow Punj., Guj. bheja—brain, intellect.
beju	sexless	Ganjam. beja—eunuch, bejiri—
—igna	male	woman having no sign of femi-
—pudi	fen	nity. vīrya—semen
bejorna	place in the village out-	Tel. banjan
	skirts for throwing	impure things
	(A. E. —feed ghosts)	
bejri	tomato	Hal. bheja—variety of small
bej—	to meet, to find a thing	brinjal. W O. veja—tiny
	sought for; to collect,	
Bej: pak a:—	pick up to offer sacred	
	rice to gods.	
bei	presents	O. bheti
bei	hunting	T. vetlam, vetju; Tel. veta
—kariya	hunter	
ber—	to surround, raid	vestiga
beta	enclosure	Ar. D. veta Punj. beṭa—court
	low land (for paddy) yard	
gabar—	land which can hold	gabbira—deep)
	water	
gar—	shallow land	
soria—	high and dry land	
cari betti	surrounding on four sides	
befa	two-annas-coin	Tel. beta, ṣṭṭuga
bet	the number of times a	Tel. veda—rutting season,
	cow has calved.	vedaru —
betar		cow in heat, Ar. D. vijatra—birth
		Kan.—bet calving, Mar. vet,
		Guj. betar
		veda—pierces
bed—	to penetrate, mix, to	
	punch	
bedna pej	gruel made of mixed rice	
	and millet.	

benal	sister's husband	bhognipoti
bebar	business	vyapurā, vyāvaharā
bebriya	business man	
ber	enmity	vairā—hostile
bera	who bears enmity	
berka		
mar—	to avenge	
dar—	to stake	
daru	avenger	
berani	low caste wife	vyāvaharika
bera	shameless	O. bhesora—ugly
—ka—	to repeat	
bei	sun	Skt. vela—time, Hal. ber ;
bela	time	Gadba. vela, Kuwi. veja—sun.
bele	during	
—odiyā	at sun rise	
—udlani bai	east	
—hōs—	sun set	
—hoalani bai	west	
jir jir—bel		
badol pacia—bel		
rata kāṣṭha—bel		
—bān—	to pass time, turn of time	
bela	lump	W. O. bhele—clod, lump
beli gal	cow which gives birth many times	O. belia—sportive
belu belu	repeatedly	
beni	much	Pers. ; Skt. viśeṣa ?
besni	purse, wallet	O. bōṇṇi—hooked pendant for nose Ar. D. vōṣṇa—dress ;
mai	tied to waist	Hal. besni—tied to nose.
bo/bou	elder brother's wife	bodhu
bo—	to carry	vohoti
boj	heavy	Ar. D. vohya Pkt. vojha.
boji	feast	bhunj—to enjoy, eat
tin pots—	feast by contributing share	
bol	to tell	Pkt. boloi—spends
bolu—	because of, for that, namely, even.	(conjunctive)
motre	friend	metro

modde	yolk	Ar. D. medas—fat marrow
modan	noon	—modhyahna
moda	bee wax	modana, O. mōma, Tel. modānā
modri	pipe instrument	—modhuri
modra	piper	
modsi	buffalo	
modot	prestige, honour	modotva
mokor	dried rice	Ar. D. morkoka ; O. makhotra.
moka	young seedling	Tel./mokka—young plant,
mogor	crocodile alligator	
mogelbar	Tuesday	
mongla	born on that day	
moga	stem,	monga—mast ; POB. m—a wild tree that grows long without branches.
moca	blue or black marks on body, mole	T. maccu—bluish, maccam—mole Tel. mocca, Ar. D.—moseika—trough on legs.
moci	fly	moksa
moj	core, kernel, pith	mojjon—marrow
maja	middle	modhya
mojari	of the middle	
maji	seed	mojjon, modhya, mojori.
	food—grains	euphemical
majur	peacock	N. mojur ; Old Awdhi—mojur
moik—	to break a promise	mol—crackle, snap
morok	river with strong current.	H. moṭok—plague.
more	corpse	metoko
moṛi	a ghost	
motam	final fixation of price in a bargain	T. motiam, Tel. mottiamu—
mod	wine	sum total, aggregate.
mod sur		
modual	drunkard	
modur	sweet, tatty	
mon	mind	
kar	to like, desire	
—pa—	to love	
—sada kar	to please	
monu monja	bald head	

mōngī— ground	to hover round round, circle	omōngōla—circle, Parj. māngī—
mōntar arani sana	spell, charm midwife, nurse	
mōr— mortai mōr pot	to die withered, dried up between life and death	
mōrōg	expensive	mōhargho
mōrōd	male	Pers. mōrd
mōrdiga	brave	
mōriyad	honour	Ar. D. mōryada-region, boundary
mōrio	chillies	
mōsol	dear, expensive	mulyo
mōlu— mōlua	sick	moline
mōhua pant sana— kōstara—	wildcat	Ar. D. mōlu-ber; T. mayolhare;
mōlkai—	to flash a sword	Parj. mōlk-light to flash; FOB. to sprout, wrench -mōsano
mōson mōen:ya	cemetery a ghost	
mōsi mōsi sētra	charcoal	Pali. soot, ink, black dye.
mōska mōski	wrestle	Ar. D. mōsoti-rubs, crushes.
mōr— mōsra—	to be burnt to burn to cook slowly	
māi	feminine	
māi-aśā	thumb, toe	
māyā	woman	
māyā bun—	to sow two things at a time	
mān	friendly, courteous	mānyo
māns	meat, flesh	
mākōṛ	monkey	
mākṛi	spider	mōrkōṛ, in many languages locust.

makri dor	rope that joins yoke with plough.	
makona	a big red ant	motkuno, Pkt makkuno-bug ?
mag	Jan-February	
mag—	to beg, ask for, request	Ar. D. margoti-seeks, asks
magni	begging	
magtiya	beggar	
mac	fish	
maca	scaffolding	Ar. D. monco-stage Dr. D.-T., Tel. maccu-terrace
macaki	circular sore on sole	Ar. D. moncika-trough on leg
maci	scaffolding	
maij—	to scour, wash with abrasive	Ar. D. mapiyi-rubs, cleans
mai	pulpit, high scaffolding.	Ar. D. maipo-upper story of a house, T. maiom-storied house
mai luga	two pieces of 'reku' (cloth) sewn together	
maia	clay	
lip—	to plaster	
maia	a hole (place for a hunter to lie in ambush)	
mado	sediment	
mafu-cikm		
maŋ	belongs	
maŋ kœi	fight	
manŋ-manŋ-	to stamp, tread on,	Ar. D. mardm-pounds, crushes
manŋa-	to thresh crops	treading by bullock's feet
manŋa	pan (earthen)	Saon. manŋi 'banŋi-cup, dish, O. manŋia-tub.
manŋa	knee	Dr. D. -Tel. manŋi (cp. Skt manŋu-ki-part of elephant's hind leg
—kuts	to kneel	Purj. maŋi kuŋtel-kneeling position. (Ar. D. kuŋba-knee
manŋin	Eleusine Coracana	Ar. D. maŋokc
manŋru	a dish made of millet	
mat—	to get drunk	—mota
matual	drunkard	
mat—/matat—	to churn, stir	—motaŋ
mator	bat	Bk. mator
miedan	cancer like growth on trees.	POB.-Gonjam-a-parasital plant growing on the body of another tree.



mida	herd, of cattle	Tel, Kan, Prj.-māda-sock herd
man	unit of measure (1 man=3, 4 or 5 ora)	mano-measure
manṭi ker-	to show respect	manṭi-honours
manṭamant	agreement	manṭ-agreecyng
manol	an unknown man	Parj. money-man, manovo
maporad	friend	
mama	father in law	Ar. D. mama-uncle
mar-	to kill, hurt, beat, cut the throat, play an instrument	
maru	a habitual oppressor	
mar-kunṭya	quarrelsome	
mal-	creeper	
mala	forest	Ar. D. mal-forest near the village, Pkt. garden.
-mar-	to clean a field for plantation	
mal	necklace	
kaḡla-, soṛua,	asuda-, gini-, den-mali)	
mal	gardner	malin
malu	fem.	
manar	Malana	
mas	month	
mas ka	monthly menstruation	
mic	ice	
micua	ice	
mik	to ogie, make eyes at, blink	Pkt. muncuo=blink, Kan. mufokis=blink
minḡ	to stamp on with the foot, trample	Ar. D. minḡti-pounds, treads POB. minḡti-thrashing ground,
mit	friend, a comy	
mitai	friendly	
mutana		
mutma		
muṇa	locket on a necklace	
mi-	to find, acquire	
mi-lar	to collect	mebyota
milsmacka	glow-worm	Ar. D. miloti-blink, moo-to wink

ma-	to join add	
masai	to include	
masa	also, in addition to,	
mit	face	
masai	front	
masan		
cisa cui	twilight	
ma/ma-cikan	honey	O. mpu
kati-	of branches	
bi-	of the hole in tree	
-maci	bee	
ma:	I	
muka	bundle which can be held in a grip	Ar. D muka-blow with fist, P O B muka-bundle.
mukyom	main, principal, proper	mukhyo
mukl	to be released	
muklai-	to let go, free	
mukla bat	ordinary rice (not ceremonial)	
mugi	mongose	Kan., Tel mung, Ar. D. mudgabha-bean-coloured.
munga	Moringa Pterygosperma.	Ar. D murugi; W O. munga; T murunkai
mujra	aim at a target	
-paka-		
-laga-	to aim at	
mula	a handful, a clutch	T muli-bundle, Ar. D mosh
muj mujai	to grab	
muli	dist	
muli	log of wood	
muli	load carried on the shoulders.	O. mola
mudi	idler	Te. mōḍḍi-dull, clumsy. O. mōḍha
mung	head	Ar. D munda-shaved, bald
-pam	water from soaked rice	wardhan-head
mungsek	body-deep	
bara	load carried on head	
mundra	shaven-head	manḍita
mundusa	pillow	
munga	post, stump	POB lopped tree
munga at	length from elbow—joint	to closed fist

munda	reservoir embankment, dam	Parj., Hal., Gadba, Kan- tank, W. O.-
—bād—	to build a dam	
mūt—	to urinate	
mutra	who often urinates	
—guda	bladder	
muta	jar, jug	Tel. monta-small pitcher; Kui
mpra	pot with lid	muta-small brass pot; Ar D, mota-basket Pkt.
mud	to close	meḡa-measure of corn.
maḡa	covered	
muda kṛ—	to fold	
muda oḡ boṣ—	to sit in a particular pose	
mudī de—	to shut	
mudī	nose-ornament, ring-	Ar D. mudra-signet, ring
maḡikṛṇ	ornaments	
mudra mudī	a nose ornament	
mundaṣ	man, husband	
murk	rash, violent, dance	
muruk	body structure, strength	
murki	grey, dirt of body	Tel. muriki, Parj. mur,
murju	rod	O. murkotiya-pale, stunted
murḡi	basket used for fishing.	Ar D. murḡoti-wooven basket
mut	cost	mutjo
mul	beginning	
—dar—	to begin	
mulai	"	
mulke	at all, from first to last	
muliya	bangle-dealer	
mulika	guardian	
musa	mouse	
gṛga—		
koḡga—		
kaḡa—		
baḡga—		
kaḡe—		
puḡa—		
meoma bai	cousin	Hal. moina-father's sister's son
mek	peg, stake, trellis	Pers. mekh, W. O.-

mecs	jump, rolled to a ball,	POB. a sweetmeat (Bamra)
meia	cripple	O. meda-dull, sluggish, mefa- slow in work —Ar. D.
o—	to wither, not grow up	meia-bodily deficit.
met—	to defy, disobey	Pkt. mejj-
meduar	disobedient, insubordinate	
	ungrateful, brave,	
medusor	daredevil uncaring	
meta	poles in a fence	Ar. D. methi-pillar in threshing floor—Pkt. meḥi O. meri,
menja	sheep	Ar. D. meḡhaorara
metan—	to knead, prepare a thick gruel of boiled stuff.	Parj. met, Tel. metru-to knead plaster, Ar. D. mothoti —churn
medri	basket-maker	Ar. D. meda-a mixed caste, T. metavar-basket-maker POB-medo-a rick made of straw for, storing paddy
mero-iki	squint-eyed	T. mēri-eye-ball, Mal. murikk to open eye.
merda	earthen ceiling under the thatch	T. mettai, Tel. meddiya—house with an upper story, flatroof
mel—	to open up, make empty, let go.	Ar. D. mell—to leave, Pkt. mello abandon.
meia	bare	
—atya melan	raspient	
ṛaḡa	open space	
melec	castrated goat	—mleccho, W. O.—
meleau—	to castrate	
mes	mustache	Ar. D. masaru—M. I. A. masu, Mal. masu Tel. masaru, Kan. masu Kudali. masi, Parj. masai, W. O. meccha.
moṭ	load	Ar. D. muta-bundle, basket; T. mutle, Tel. muta-bale mutto
mojo	blunt	
moioe	to roll up, twist fold, crush.	Ar. D. mutoti-twista
mo,ia	twisted	
moṭia	rounded shape, circular	—mondio
maṭṭi kor—	to fly around, move around	
ro—	to remain, stay, dwell	Ar. D. rohoti—Pkt. rohol
roibar	Sun day	
roia	woman born on that day	

rak—	to grate, scrape	Ar D. rangoti-moves to and fro, rinhoti-moves, crawls.
roka	grater	
roka	to pour out water	Ar D rokoti, Bh. rak, Hal. rak-POB rukiba-to pour out.
rokiya kor—	to protect	
rogor—	to grate, rub, massage	
rega:	hawk, falcon, eagle	—grure?
ran-	red	Pict.-red, Bh—
rac—	to colour	
ranga kor —	to gesture, mimic	
roo—	to prepare, arrange	—rac—
ry -	to wear out by friction	—roj—
roj-gos		
roj kor-	to become cloudy	
roj gabi de—		
rota	coloured	—seito
rotka	red, coloured	
rod-bq.	fertile land	—redhyote-is softened, red-to pierce, dig
ron cusa	powdered	
on	hair on body, fur	—romon
omad	to massage, knead	—mordamo
ros	juice, sap	
rosen	dirt	ep.O.osena
rai-dun	small egg of the size of a mustard, underdeveloped	
	egg	
raibaeta	negotiators deputed by the groom's party	
rag-dil	loose, slack	
aghya	butter, pungent	—rag-hot like passion
—dar—	to become pungent	
ran—	to crawl as a baby, move in a crooked way.	Ar D rangoti-moves to and fro, rangoti-crawls; Bh regg-; Parj. rego
raj -	trellis for training creepers.	O. ranga
raj-buti	dwarf	
—kuja		
raji-purti	world	
kota raji		
poda—		
qongor—		

ranđt	widow	Pkt. rānđa
ranđola	widower	Hal. ranđola
rañi	night	
rañi	a flower	O. gongosuli
rañeh-bñi	unfertile land	Ar. D. retro —lahanda. retur- sandy soil, reto-sand.
radaradi	at a stretch	
rād—	to cook	
rada-gor	kitchen	
rāden	cook	
rapi	to scratch	—rampet.
rapor cimok		
rañon	vulture, hawk	Hal. rawna
rabadi kor—	to roar continuously	- raydyoti-rojra
ram gata	a string instrument	
ram pol	custard apple, bullock's heart	
ramu	black headed muna	Hal. -
rañi	herd	—rañ-beap, mass
rañi	lean	Mar. rugalo-lean and meagre
rañi	debt	
rañi bari		
rañi	anger	—rañ
rañi kor	to be angry	Ar. D. risoty-is hurt, suffers wrong— N., Mth. to be angry;
rañi	in anger	Bh. ris
rañi	cotton	Pkt.-carded cotton, H. rui, Hal. baby-hair, fur
rañi	to strike mildly	Pkt. romcañ-grinds ;
rañi—	to gather together	Ar. D. runđa-crowded together
rañi—	to pull by the hair	Tel. rehmu-to snatch, pull out as hair, POB.-to uproot furs; rima-animals killed by tiger etc.
reka	petal	Tel. reku-petal; Kol. rekko- leaf.
reku	piece of cloth	Tel. tin or iron sheet
reñia	lean person	Guj. reñi-weak, cowardly, O. rekia-dried and hardened.
reñi dan	wild paddy	
reñi	so e, heel	Ar. D. oñi; Hal. leñi
reñi	file	Ar. D. retro—in roany N. I. A. file and sand, O. reñi

ret—	to brush, polish, rasp	
dāt—	to brush the teeth	
ret रेट		
reb—	to cut, behead	Gangam. rub-to grind corn
rema	palm and cocoanut leaves	
remat -	to tame, cajole, please, to win over	remote
relī	persons dealing with hides, a caste	
rog	disease	
rogn	sick person	
roj	Road	
roṣa	coarse, thick,	
rop—	to sow seeds, transplant	ropoyoti
lop	fibre, cuir	
lo	a poisonous creeper having white sap	
lī—	to stoop down, bow down.	—namoti
lūliya	which bends downward	
louti	mist	
oge	near	Bh. joger
—um	from	
lon	to wade	longhoyoti-transgress,
longai—	to ferry on river	leaps over.
loṭ—	to copulate	Ar. D. loṭa-bad man, loṭoti-sports, courts, lelyoti-sleep
loṭkar	characterless	
loṭiya		Hal. mayloṭiya
loṭa	sticky, gum	Pkt. loṭha-tangled
loṭka	clapper made of hollow pieces of bamboo attached to cow's neck,	O. luṭka
loṇḍa	a mass of rags used for smearing cow-dung on to walls, floor etc.	Ar. D. loṇḍa-excrement
loṇḍek	a lump	
loṭra	marks of insect bite	Ar. D. loṭhara-dirt etc.
loḍi	mud	Ar. D. loḍḍa-lump Guj., Mar ḍung, mass of kneaded dough. W. O. horse-dung
loda	beer brewed from mandū	Parj. nonda
omb—	to be in a line	

jasa	sap, lymph	O. nasa-pus, sap
lason	chill	slonca; W. O. lason-to conq
lamiya	slender, sluggish	down
laa-pej	gruel without rice	Hal. lai-popped gruel
lau	gourd	
lak dar—	to run at	lakai—lak
lag—	to be attached	laga
lagai—	to smear, anoint , to kindle a fire	
laga or -	to be massaged	
laga agi or—	to fight with each other	
lagon	capable of cutting easily, sharpness.	
lan	long piece of wood	
lad	to brand, sear, scorch to shoot.	Ar D. laka-yoti-distinguishes, marks Mar, N
lacuna:	a worm having poisonous hair all over the body	
laj	offence	
—de—	to insult	
lata jagu	congested place	Ar D. b(1)3-angled
lai:	stick, long, tall	Pkt b(1)3-stick, rod Pruj, Gondi
—ar	spine	
laion laion	earthworm	
ar—	to shake, tremble	Ar D. b(1)3-shakes, totters
laialad	affectionate, pet	Ar D. Pkt laq(1)3-fondling
uq(1)3-jel	May-june	Hal—
at-mar	to kick	Pkt. lota-blow with the heel
litor	Lessern	
nta	creeper	
lata/lata or	-to lean against	
lata-tenta	to pile up disorderly	
pad—	to load	bedoyoti
ladon	loading	
jida	earthen jar	Ar D. nando-pot
lanta	boy-servant	POB. who anoints oil on king Hal. bami-baler



lai	saliva, slime	Ar D. lala-saliva, spittle
lai -	to cool down a hot thing	Ar D. lihota-licks 0. lehita-sucks.
lika	louse-egg	liksa-nit, young louse
lii	a small bird	lii-to-small; Bh.—
liiye—	to walk leisurely	
lip—	to plaster, smear, to bleach.	lipoye-is smeared
liipip	pliable, thin and slender	Ar D. liippe-sudden movement
lib	to be extinct, extinguished	niwayoti
libib—	to flicker	
libai -	to erase, wipe up	
lim	to wink,	
limim -	to flicker eyes	
lua	iron	
lua	a small bird	Hal. lawa - a small speckled bird
luc	to hide oneself	Pkt. lukka-hides
luchocam—hide	and—seek	
luik—	to hiccough	
luiki	hiccough	
ludud	soft, swamp	
luti	earring for males	Ar D. ludoti lute-to dangle bang, wave
leu—	to return	—nivortate-turns back
leua paui		
lek—	to write, carve, paint	
leka béd—	to keep records	
li	tail	—longo
—kai—	to castrate, dock	euphemistical
liji	numb	—lojito-bashful
liji	bits of dung	
liji pipi	black pepper	
liidra	idler, slow walker	
lepot -	to bend, crouch, ambush	Ar D. nepodyte-lies down
lepi	bent down	to sleep.

jok	people	
lob	greed	
loba	greedy	
lot--	to need, seek, desire	loḍḍa,
lob	nail for fixing plough-share	FOB. lola-grass clinging to plough share during ploughing (Kharial).
sona	friend	Bh. —, N. sohela, Guj. sohayar
soal	sixteen	O. solo
sak	bridge	Ar. D. sonkrama, Pkt. sonkama-
sak	gullet	Ar. D. sonkha-temporal or fronta base, Punj. throat, Hal. sok
sonkya	mumps	
sokal--	to spit out	
sokal--	to lop, cut into pieces	Ch. G. Ar. D. sonkaiḍa- bends oneself together P. K. T. -
	sakale,	sonkudā-contracted, O.--
		sankuliba-to draw in one's limb
sogota	marriage-compensation (to the bride's family)	
soge	by, with	sogo
songei	to keep, put, save, to arrange	songrinath--saves; songraho--you-keeps.
soj	evening	
soḍ	bull	
soda	trunk	
soṭ	true	
soṭi	really	
—kar	to promise	
soṭra	seventeen	
soḍ	a dug out cave	Ar. D. somdhi-hole made by thief
--mar--	to make an internal hole	
sodar	common meeting place	Arb.
sodram	plane, levelled ground	
—bapa	terrace wall	
—pada	terrace	
soni bar	Saturday	
sona	born on that day	
sonon	dream	

sopur	thin, fine, tiny	Mar small, Bh., Ch. G—
sobod	sound	
soba	whole, all	
soma	time, occasion	somayo
soman	alike, equal, parallel	
or -	to resemble	
sombr	deer (sambha)	
somar	Monday	
somra	born on that day	
somal—	to endure, take care of	sombharayoti
somajay	see	
somda	a relative	sombondhan-connected by marriage; Hal, uncle's son
sor	shaft of an arrow	
sor	middle-man, supporter	
sorog	sky, heaven	
soran-post —	to surrender, take shelter	
sora	chain, necklace	Pkt., sora-string, garland
soral	channel, narrow lane	Ar. D. soroti—runs, flows
sorp—	to hand over (as in marriage the bride is given over)	somorpayoti
solak	straight	somlaksa
solga	announcement made on completion of a score at the counting	Bh. solgo—full; Tel' an aggregate of 20.
solnga	straight, without any crease or curve.	Bh —, O. solnga—slender and tall ( sirnango).
solop	Caryota Urens	(its juice alcoholic)
sa os —	to help, support	sobayo
sot	porcupine	Ar. D. sraividh Pkt. savibh, Hal., W. O. .
sarp	curse, imprecation	—sapyo
—kara	one who curses	
saroti	a musical play for girls	Khurjar—sadori
sankar	rich man, creditor, wise man	
savti dar	to pick up, hold with firm grip.	Ar. D. somthatu—stands together

sauj—	to tend, drive cattle	sobdayto-calls
sauja	musty, putrified mango	
sauta hād—	to tie with two split bamboos on both sides	Ar. D. sokuto Lahanda-sauta -contraction, fight.
sakar	narrow	somkoto, Bh. sako. Ch.
ot	to shrink	G. silar W O. sakra jiba
sakal	morning	
sag	curry, vegetables	
bar	garden	
sagia		
at-sagia	to give a signal	somja, Hal.
saj-	to repair	sajjoty-equipa, prepares
saju	spoon, stack ladle Pkt.	cotu-wooden spoon,
sat	seven	
sati	thigh, rump	Dr D.-Kol, Naki, soti-shoulder blade, POB. sati-kind leg of animals given to king as royalty
sati-gor	hind leg	
satra	father-in-law	sari-dutful householder ?
sātra	war	O. satriani
sātar-	to pacify, compromise	santi-peace
sātalu	mild, lazy	
sātar-	to ask for something from god	
sād-	to compose, to mix together intimately	W O san-, Ch G.-O. chondib
san	young	Ar D slaks? Pkt.-sanjo
sanh	younger wife	
sani	prostitute	
sāp	snake	
sapa	all, to the last bit	Arb. safa; Bh.-Hal.-
saplu	victuals for a guest.	surpo supa-winnering fan, Provisions given in a fan.
saba	soap	Portuguese
naya	cream, scum of film which forms on the surface of gruel	Ar D saho-cream, Pkt.-
sar-poter	Playing cards	Ar D sari-piece at chess, dice
sar	real, substance, best part	

sar-	to finish, complete exhaust	Ar D sarayoti-makes move.
sar baṭ		
sarai-	to decorate to beautify, repair	O. sara kar-to level, settle.
sarasari	last, concluding	
sarab	goldsmith	N D. saraf-money changer, banker Arb)
saral	flood	Ar D sarot-runs, flows.
sarīkaram	go-between (of lovers)	sarīhi
sarda	love, affection, reverence	sardha-trust
sard-	to make matters plain and easy	O. Sadharib
sal	cowshed	sala-shed
salik:m	porcupine	Ar D. salih-solyofia-porcupine quilt, Mar sayal, salu.
at salim		sosoyoti-makes dry
sas j *	to soak, absorb	Hal-
sasu	husband's elder sister wife's elder sister	
sasta	cheap	Skt. sasta
se-	to sew	siyoti-sews
siuni	Verbal Noun	
-de-	to mend garments	
sik-	to learn	
sikari	teaching	
sikai-	to persuade	
sikya	jail	Gajam-
si-kar-	to blow a running nose to exhale	Laris-sikribe
suit mar-	to whistle	Ar. D. siis-whistle
siku	tangled	Ar. D. sikya-rope-sling
sikri jau	gruel made of mixed rice and gram	Pkt. somkhadi-cooking of rice
sikli	chain, link	sikkholo
-de-	to fasten door	
-baja-	to knock	
-sra	silknet	
sige	full to the brim	singo ?
sik	horn	
sijv-	to boil, cook	siḍhyoti-well cooked
sura	ladder made of single bamboo	Pkt. siḍḍlu-ladder

siŋi	stem
sit	cold
sila	
-kiŋa	centipede
sina	provided (conditions, conjunctive)
sindi	a kind of bushy plant
-katra	phoenix sylvestris
-magi	mon-goose
-ŋeŋɛra	
sima	tin, iron sheet
-per	tin box
sira	ink
-baŋi	pen
siraŋ	flag
sira-taŋɛa	having a torn nose, barelip
sirɛ-	to cast an evil eye
sirɛŋɛp	
sirila	retail selling, loose count
sirli	thin and long strips
sil-	to melt
sili	wheel
siloŋi/silo	whistle
sisa	Lead
sisa	tax, land cess
-bidi-	to pay taxes
sir-	to splash, sprinkle
sua	Panicum tiliare
sua	tasteful, pleasant
suka-	to dry
sukli	dried
sukna	things for drying
sukeŋ	dregs, refuse, sediments
sux saka	tumid, tender
sukrubar	Friday
sukra	born on that day
sun-	to smell

Ar. D. sila-ear of corn, straw.

Ar. D. sindi-date-palm  
Mar., sid, Paŋ. cendi

O. sima-iron ring. Ganjam-  
sumak yil

Tel—  
O. sirali  
O. sir-to tear  
siŋ-crit

Dr. D. cillar  
W. O. sirli O. sir-tear

Ar. D. silis-moves, Kumaon-  
to run along the surface;  
siraŋyoti-HH sila-to be cool  
and damp; W. O. siriliba- to  
become swampy

Ar. D. sil-lower timber of a  
door, Paŋ. cili-wheel.

N. susilo-whistling suson

O. sise

Tel.

sira-cold  
syaŋoko, sukoko-barley, a  
bearded kind of wheat.

suka-dried

Pkt. sungba sakhba

	to repay	Ar. D. udhyots-purifies Pkt-suyhñi-becomes clear
suji	needle	ruci
sutak-gor	delivery place	Ar. D. sutak-birth
suta	thread	
-jik-	to shrink	
-dar-	to spin	
sutrai-	to seduce, induce, inveigle, court	(sutyoyoti-strings together)
sudh	pure, clear, unmixed	
sund -gata	wasp	
sud-	to obey, agree, respond	sraoti
sunari	jeweller	suvornokaro
sunbu i	ghost of a pregnant woman	
sur	liquor	Tel sara-rice made liquor, Skt sara
sur sural-	to cry, sob	onomat.
suragali	whirlwind	Tel., Naiki-
surda	gulp	O. surka
sul-dan	carrying staff	
suhiya	pointed like a sul (spear)	
susar	sweet, good, gentle	
susta	health,	
susra	elder brother of husband/ wife.	Hal.--
se	he that	
sepe	that there big	
eti		
sete	that much	
sete	there,	
sete	that way	
semañti, tar	they	
semona	to grunt	W. O. seura-shameless
seu; oi-	weak, anemic	sevap-white
setas	to sniff, inhale	
ser-kor-	scorpion, centiped	POB scriha
sewahi	to fondle, make affectionate gestures	
sesta kor-	leave, permission to depart	Tel.-
selo	to sleep	
Se-	to examine, search	sodhyoti-purifies.
soda kor-		

## ADDENDA

## 1. List of flax and fenna

## (1) Varieties of paddy.

karanṣi, dud karanṣi  
 kalamona  
 kupaṣeri  
 goṭa  
 cipṭi  
 cilipa  
 bondkaji  
 baṅga mōḷa  
 baṭa  
 māhi baṭa  
 loda māmi  
 bor baṭa  
 baṭa kabn  
 baṭa baṅga  
 baṭasundri  
 baṅga gundā  
 baṭu  
 māhi  
 māhi  
 roṅgaṭi  
 roṅga  
 olda roṅga

## (2) Varieties of māṅga.

kalpadi  
 kalroṅkoli  
 kalakoli  
 oṅṅ dū  
 carkoli  
 cipṭi

oṅṅdurmāṅḍi

oṅṅgardi

jaṭ

jaraṅṅi

liri

ḍumri

māhi

poṅṅ

paṅ

baṭ

māhi ḍetia

māhiṅkoli

## (3) Varieties of 'maṅḍia.'

kangoti

cili

poṅṅoli

dwarabaṭi

dud kareṅga

boṭ

baṭ

māhi

maṅḍi

## (4) Varieties of 'sūṭ'

ek pobi

kaka

boṭ

maṅḍi

māhi

māhi māhi

loda māhi

māhiṅkoli



## (5) Edible roots- 'kanda'

kolā  
keda  
taragai  
sengoti  
pīl  
pīla  
bongali  
baṭ  
mudur  
rui  
sopenda  
sura

## (6) Trees.

kas (Pandanus Odoratissimus)  
kekot  
car kol  
jura  
lek  
teṅgiya cina  
ḡamon (Grewia Elastica)  
ḡon damon  
ḡagan  
ḡumbjoḡa  
ḡum (Ficus Glomerata) -  
bangola  
bandḡ  
bareṇ  
modoi  
maller  
rauli  
seng (Vatica Robusta)  
saj (Shorea Robusta)

siusa

siros (Acacia Sirima)

boḡi siros

kanla siros

## (7). Flowers.

suli (amoloḡo-Phyllanthus  
Myrobalan)

kṛnai (karohata-Vangueria  
Spicosa)

gulapi (rose)

tara

turai

dona (deyona)

bat

modar (modaro-Erythrina Indica)

moxo-

kūḡi-

mai

soelanka pul (O. kalthacumpa)

simaram

rukli

suruj

## (8) Vegetables.

ati giri

kak,i (cucumber, karkoḡa)

kaḡka

eucunia

tutmuḡi (bitter gourd)

turai (toruḡa; O. toruḡa-lotus root)

pengi kanda

haga bḡda

modrenga

sit kuḡer

sema (umbḡ-kidney bean)

## (9) Fish.

koksa (W O. kokoi)

koi (Ar D. kovoyi) *Arabus*  
*scandens*

gōsi (Cyprius garra)

gu

jima (O. toji)

cinisa (cinago-to-shrump)

citra

fudān

turiya

kodoku turiya

pakna coŋu

poli

botu

hīdna kuraŋi

benda

manŋia siŋi

sol (O. seulo sakub)

*Ophiocephalus striatus*

## (10) Snake.

kariya

kacapotriya

kalaŋi (krenŋo nago)

gōlo cornu

fongv citi

dōŋŋa (dandubho-water-snake)

damna (dhormog-Zameus  
mucosus)

otai damna

dunu poti

nag (cobra)

dub nag

tetu nag

manŋot

ogus manŋai

## (11) Worms and Insects.

onka

goc

goru

jud

jekor

dumri

kalaŋa boura

bog boura

bita

baŋ

bura

sindi

## (12) Birds.

i ŋara

umagum

koi (wild cock)

kapu (dove-topots)

kua

kuku (Skt. kanka, T kokku-  
heron)

kurma

gōla (O. khyvolapati)

gunŋri

oeka (painted snipe, curlew)

judaŋu (O. boŋi)

vitiŋna

maŋ

bonŋia gad

badoŋi (bat)

benas

## II. List of Tag-Words

## (i) Combination with synonymous words

koga-lo-a	searching and seeking	to collect anyhow
ce-e apot	screams and squabbles	to get away quickly
jala-pada	nets and traps	to entrap anyhow
yika-jana	dragging and pulling	
tola-beda	collection of funds by voluntary and compulsory contributions	
boda-bodeb	friends and relatives	
mod-sur	wine and liquor	
raj-purt	the whole universe	
ret-rogot	rubbing and grating	
luga-pala	clothings	

## (ii) Combination with anonymous words

kai-qep	pits and mounds	uncasy way
lek-lepot	l firing and laying	dragging with difficulties
bor-san	young and old	everybody
hol-atar	good and bad	
muu-joca	earning and begging	
adok-pidor	common-yard and home-yard	everywhere

## (iii) Combination with correlative terms

isor-basor	kut and kina	
udar-bati	borrowing with and without interest	
kota-betu	culting and stacking	harvesting
komela-jomela	earnings and savings	
kosa-bua	ploughing and carrying	Cultivational jobs
kaena-ploel	eating and drinking	
kata-barta	speaking and reporting	conversations
kadi-kandja	grains and chaffs	
kadi-pidi	food and dress	
kada-baba	crying and howling	
kia-poienga	worms and insects	
kandra-pasia	turning and twisting	(pasla-kindra)
kira-mara	quarrelling and beating	
kula-gora	pounding and grading	
kud-kandja	ordinary grains and chaffs	
goi-gumot	bells and gongs	Musical instruments
jot-kot	this way and that way	Uncertain movement
joi-jiad	animals wild and mild	
je-boni	daughters and sisters	Female-folk

Juar-bel	greeting and meeting	
lakia-pungpa	tired and exhausted	
tesa-dan	sticks and staffs	
dabu-kasa	rupees and coins	
dai-ma	leaves and creepers	
dara poka	gripping and squeezing	
daru-patar	Woods and leaves	
naka-tabia	pots and pans	Cooking utensils
paik-raut	soldiers and commanders	Royal retinue
Pani-kâi	water and soap	Cooking preoccupations
pani-potar	water and leaf	Worshipping materials
poti-kasa	bitter and pungent	Food taken after a death
pej-pan	gruel and water	Victuals
botu-bai	relatives and family-members	
bai gai	roads and rivers	
bai-boura	balls and tops	Playing materials
bat-sag	rice and curry	
bâti-bodai	vomiting and excreting	Diseases
mar-kun	beating and killing	
mar-dar	beating and binding	
râda-bata	cooking and serving	
sag-dai	curry and pulse-soup	
sap-seraia	snakes and scorpions	Reptiles
suru-potar	thread and leaf	Materials for a ritual

## (iv) Combination with echo-words

ha-buy	frying
pot-pot	roasting
pek-pâk	blowing
mor-ma	twisting
tipai-tipai	sprinkling
bana-bana	napkins
sara-sari	towards the end
dun-dan	shaking
pani-puna	water, etc
maj-muj	rinsing
fat-fata	mats, etc
gala-gali	churning
kai-kui	cutting
led-eda	swampy-dampy
bat-bata	untasty
mus-misa	black and dark
dai-dai	crumbings
bet-bai	picking and piling
mao-muoa	fish, etc

## (r) Combination with meaningless auxiliaries

aka-maka	pushing and dashing	
aka-aka	help and support	
akas-bakas	heaven and space	
ate-pate	hands and legs	to accomplish anyhow
ulus-pamru	slow and dull	
usol-pasol	tossing and toppling	
kor-kond	itching and scratching	
kauji-leupi	loads, etc.	
kacra-kuar	dirts and filth	
kaji-boji	feasting and merry-making	
gado-pado	bathing and washing	
gena-bisa	buying and selling	
capen-ci om	birds, etc.	
cau'-gaul	rice, etc.	
cira-pora	settle and snap	to conclude a bargain
dog-upor	leaps and jumps	
gal-buta	bushes and shrubs	
tas-bas	cultivation, etc.	
nati-pur	sons and child	ancestors
punda-unpa	breathing and sighing	
pota-data	burning and roasting	
bala-gota	grinding and churning	
bala-sala	serving and distributing	
batia-satia	victuals, etc.	
bau-biny	bowing and praying	
bur-sur	bathing and cleaning	funeral rites
bera-kura	land, etc.	
mar-pol	doing with risks and hazards	
mapa-jupa	weighing and measuring	
ago-losa	near and dear	
lag-tal	continuing and repeating	
uca-goya	stealing and hiding	
son-tul	in groups and company	
sau-sarda	fondling and cajoling	
gana-bana	golds, etc.	

# DESIA

A TRIBAL OROTA DIALECT

APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

## 1

## The Bhatti Dialect of Koraput

Sir G. A. Grierson recognised Bhatti as a genuine dialect of Oriya'. (L. S. I, Vol. V, Pt. II, P-370). In his opinion, 'Bhatti is really a corrupt form of Oriya with a few Marathi and Chhattisgarhi forms intermingled. It may be taken as the connecting link between that language and Halbi, which is a mixture of Marathi and Chhattisgarhi' (ibid, P-434). These observations of Sir Grierson are based on the specimen collected from Bastar. His views would have been slightly modified had he got an occasion to encounter with the Oriya dialects of Koraput which he missed as that tract being an Agency-area lied beyond the purview of his survey. The language of the Bhattaras of Koraput is far less influenced by Halbi and Chhattisgarhi. It is in fact a variety of Desia with a very few characteristic marks of Halbi.

The Bhattaras originally belong to a non-Aryan stock. They are treated as a sub-division of the great Gond tribe along with Murias (Taylor). According to another tradition, they are believed to be the illegitimate off-springs of the Gonus. (Foster Elwin-Tribal Myths of Orissa, 1954, P. xiv). The traditional history says that they migrated from their original home-land in Deccan to Bastar along with their other three brothers, namely, Muria, Paraja and Gond. Then the Murias settled in the mountains, Gonds in the valleys, parajas in Arungul villages and Bhattaras settled in Odayane (Dr. Telang P-535). In course of time they picked up Aryan habits of living and even began to wear sacred thread of the Hindus. During this gradual process of acculturation they adopted the Aryan speech of the region as their mother-tongue.

On the other hand, about the origin of the Halbas it is believed through the traditions that they were transformed to human-beings by Lord Siva out of the scare-crows that were placed in the gardens of an Oriya king. They served that king and lived in Puri. In course of time, when a king of that scion retired to forest having contracted leprosy, they also followed him as his personal attendants and later on settled in the Bastar-Koraput region (Dr. Telang P-199). It is also believed that the Halbas are later immigrants to Bastar than the Bhattaras. (S. Bhattacharya 'Halbi and Bhatti of Bastar' in Indian Linguistics, Bagchi Memorial Vol. 1957, P. 16)

These traditional myths prove that the tribal Halbas and Bhattaras were Aryansed by the early Aryan settlers of Bastar-Koraput region and it naturally follows that their languages must have evolved out of the Aryan speech of that region. Sri S. Bhattacharya has rightly said that 'Halbi and Bhatti are two dialects of an Indo-Aryan speech that was spoken in Bastar and the neighbouring regions in older times (op. cit.) we may suppose that 'regional tribal Indo-Aryan Speech' to be the Sabari-Sauresani mixed Odhri Apabhramsa or a form of Early-Desia, since Desia means, the language of the region.

Historically, Bastar-Koraput region constituted one single administrative unit from an early period and the present political border of Bastar and Koraput was never so steady till very recent times. Under that circumstance,

this bulk of territory was a homogeneous tract, not only politically but also culturally and linguistically. Halbas and Bhatras formed only a part of the vast majority of Desia (native) subjects of that territory where the ruling class has always been viewed as exotics.

In Koraput, Bhatras are found in Nawarangpur Subdivision only. They are more concentrated in Kotpad area which forms the border line between Bastar and Koraput. According to 1961 Census their total number is 157,763. There are also some Bhatras (1,75,000) in Koksara and Jaypura Police Station area of the neighbouring district of Kalahandi.

The dialect of the Bhatras of Kotpad is slightly different from their Nawarangpur counterparts, which are called 'Nalpatiya'. The river Indravati may be taken as a natural boundary of the two varieties. The Kotpad-dialect bears some impressions of Halbi affinity.

A short description of the dialect is given below on the basis of the materials collected in between 1965-68 from the following informants—

- 1 Dom Majhi, Gati Sahu, Nawarangpur
- 2 Ghasiram Bhatara, Chataundi, Ngpr
- 3 Sambara Goud, Chataundi, Ngpr
- 4 Padlabh Bhatra, Hauli, Kotpad
- 5 Mungu Bandagura, Chataundi, Kotpad
- 6 Dusum Majhi Bandagura, Kotpad
- 7 Rev F L Prabhu Sahaya, Mission Compound, Kotpad
- 8 Three travellers from Suai, Kotpad.

## 1 Phonology

### 1.1 Vowels.—

There are six vowels—i, u, e, o, a, ə/. All the vowels have long positional variants, but the length is non-phonemic. Generally, the vowel in the penultimate position of closed syllables and after consonant clusters is long (e.g./duar door, dōra male). Assimilation of vowels and rephenesis are noticeable. All vowels can occur nasalised and nasalization is phonemic (e.g. at market-/āi't gāt, ku/diplomacy, kēi pōle kōa hār-knot, kōa-brass-metal). Vowel combination of the following types are found—u, ia, io, ai, au, ae, eu, e, m, ʊa, ou.

### 1.2 Consonants —

/p, t, l, c, k, b, d, ɸ, ʒ, g, s, m, n, N, l, r, y/

All except N, y occur initially before vowels only. All stops have slightly aspirated allophones finally in Tadbhava words (e.g. bagh/tiger, byagghā/). /ɸ/ has a flap allophone /v/ intervocally and finally (e.g. ga/river, gōndā/a piece). /n/ has two allophones [n] before palatals and [ɳ] before cerebrals. N occurs alone only finally and before velars medially (e.g. /aŋ/ horn, /kaŋga/poor). Clusters of any types do not occur initially.



## 2. Morphology

### 2.1. Number—

Common plural suffix is /mən/. Besides that, a few nouns of multitude, such as, sɔb, gula, manda/, are added either before or after the nominal absolute to express plurality.

### 2.2. Gender—

There is no grammatical gender. Common feminine affixes are /i, m/. Otherwise the natural gender is expressed by descriptive words like /ən/ra/ male /mni/ female.

### 2.3. Case-affixes—

Nom—; Acc—ke, e; Gen.—or; Loc—e, ne, ene, iane Instr./səŋe/ with, /  
aŋe/ by hand. Abl.—mu, tan-ma, tən; Kotpad dialect—le. Excepting the  
Acc. case-affixes, other affixes are added to the genitival oblique base  
of the noun.

### 2.4. Pronouns—

General form	Oblique form
1st person Sg./mni/ Plu. amɪ	mo, mo/ /am, amɔr/
2nd person Sg./tu/ Plu. /təne/	/to, to/ /təm, tənɔr/
3rd person Sg./ne/ * /əy/Kotpad Plu., ac mən	/ta, ta/ /təke, təkɔr/ Kotpad—/tikɔr/
Demonstrative—Near—/i, e/ Far—/əe/ -/ha/very far	Oblique—/u/ /əu/ /ha/
Relative—/je, jən/	/je, jar/
Interrogative and /ke, kon/	/ka, kar/
Indefinite	/kəni/(something)
Impersonal— /kay/(what)	

Case affixes are added to the oblique base only.

## 2.5 Pronominal Derivatives—

	Demonstr		Relative	Interrogative
Time—	/ebe/	/ube/	/ebe/	/kebe/
Place—	/ene/	/ene/	/ene/	/kene/
	/ibi/	/ibi/	/ibi/	/kibi/
	/ode/	/ode/	/oni/	/koni/
Quantity—	/etek/	/etek/	/etek/	/etek/
Size—	/ek/	/erek, erek/	/ek/	/kek/
Manner—	/emi/	/emi/	/emi/	/kemi/
			(Kotpad-komlar)	

## 2.6. Enclitics, Definitives and Conjugatives—

la, lu, definitive, /a, expletive, ae, emphatic, /u, completive, /ar/ and, /misa, also, /para/like, /mar/ but, /ile, conditional

## 2.7 Verb—

There are altogether 13 verbal forms, of which 5 are simple forms and 8 periphrastic forms. The construction of a simple form is as follows—root + (tense or mood) + person and number. Periphrastic forms are of two types—imperfect and perfect. The construction of an imperfect form is as follows—present participial form of the root ending in—/e or /i + Auxiliary verb, /e, + tense or mood + person-number. Perfect forms are constructed in the same manner but the root remains in the past participial form ending in, /a.

However in two periphrastic forms i.e. present imperfect and perfect the construction is different. In these cases the auxiliary verb, /e or /a (<ae) is added to the simple future and simple past forms to derive present imperfect and perfect forms respectively.

## 2.7.1 Tense and Mood indicators—

Future—/s/ for 3rd pers. sg. only  
/bi/ for all other persons.

Past— /i/

Contingent /i/

Imperative—/—/

## 2.7.2. Person—Number markers—

1st pers.	sg.	/—i/
	plu.	/—u/; for imperative /—u/
2nd	sg.	/—us/; Kotpad; —a.
		/—i/ for imperative
	plu.	/—aa/; for imperative /—a/

(When the imperative is allo-benefactive to a 3rd person an additional /a/ occurs with imperative forms e.g. /i make de/Give me, but/take de/Give to him

3rd	sg.	/i/ for future, /o/ for imperative ; /a/ for other tenses and moods.
	plu./ai/	for imperative; ai/.

## 2.7.3 Auxiliary verbs—

(i)/reiba reba/to remain

	Customary	Imperative	Future	Past	Contingent
I.sg.	na-ra	(rae)	rebi	reli	reti
plu.	na-raa	(raa)	rebu	relu	retu
II.sg.	na-raus	re	rebaa	relus	retus
		(Kotpad—reba		relia	retia)
plu.	na-raas	raa	rebaa	relas	retas
III.sg.	na-raa	raa	reai	rela	reta
plu.	na-raai	raai	rebaa	relay	retay

(ii)/ace aa, aa/to be (Kotpad; aa use/)

I.sg./ace/	plu./acu/
II. /acus, /acis/	/acaa/
III. /ace/	/acai/

## 2.7.4. Negative verb—

Negative forms are obtained by the addition of negative affixes like/nas, na na, in kotpad/na,

## 2.7.5. Causatives—

Causative forms are obtained by the addition of /a/ to the root. In certain cases the roots undergo some change due to operation of morphophonemic rules, e.g. /karba/ I will do /karaiba/ I will cause to do, /kaba/ I will eat, /kuaiba/; /soaba/ I will sleep, /suuaba/;

## 2.7.5. Infinitives and Verbal—nouns—

Either the genitive case affix/*or*/or the acc case affix/*ke*/is added to the verbal noun, which is formed by the addition of/(i)ba/ to the root, e.g./ka-iba-*r*, ka-iba-*ke*/for eating.

## 2.7.6. Conjunctives—

These are formed with the addition of the following participles to the root—  
(i) perfect, —i, (ii) continuative present/*te*—i/*or*/*ne*—ni, (iii) conditional  
/e e.g. ka*i*—having eaten, ka*te*/while eating, /ka*ile*/if eats.

## 3. Vocabulary—

The vocabulary of Bhatiri contains a good number of words which have no use in Desia. A list of a few such words is given below.

cinla pani, touched-water	'bena ant-bull
/gna gao whole village	'banga brinyal
/agru, pregnancy in advance stage	/anda/i to cook rice
/bakan, to find fault with	/ceg/to clamb
'burki old she-goat	/kamak aq/kettle drum
/ka'na, basket	pbul/moss
/kaje/because of	'kamniya/earning person

## Words from Kotpad dialect—

'bui ox	'bahi woman
/ongor/plough	/jat/to plough
/pliar, anga/back-yard	/ka/well
/heb/to halt	/ose/ra/weaver
/di to give	/ni/to take
/ged/to cut	/ben/seed
/ce/te bird	

## 4. Text—

(1) Parable of sower (Mark 4 : 1—9)

goi lok dan bun-ke nakar-la/ay bun-ba-ke kotok ben bat lage udar-la ay-la-ke  
cece-mao bels kaelay/an kotok kinok mats-ra-ba pokna bus-i-ane odar-la, ay-i-ane  
kuba mats na-ra-bu-ke jo-ke gaja eis an bel ud-ba-ke pot-ga-la an cer na-ra-ba-ke

sulo-ga-la ari katek keta-ku a lage adar-la ari katek-gae kusa mikri ay sabu-ke  
 cepae-de-la tebe pae na-ay-la ar katek niku-mari-re-na bu-tane adar a ari gaja  
 di ba-la ari kabe kabe pae as-la ar ay kae-a jar sun-ba-ke kan ace ay sunu  
 (Rev F. L. Prabhu Sahaya, Kotpad) [A man came out for sowing paddy  
 When sowing some seed fell on the road. The birds pecked up those seeds  
 and ate. A few fell on the rocks and with little soil. As there was not much  
 earth the seeds sprouted quickly but were withered by the sun-heat and then faded  
 away for want of deep roots. Some seeds fell near the thorny bushes. Those  
 bushes grew up and covered the paddy plants and there could not be any crop.  
 Then some fell at places with good soil. Those sprouted, grew up and bore  
 good crop. He (Christ) said—who has ears to hear, let him hear this.]

### (2) Parable of Prodigal son (Luke 15 11-32)

gajak jakar dai gaja beja rala sara beja tar bua-ke ba-la-bua, mar bag-  
 bafa make de tebe tar buasaba dan-ke dus-a befa-ke bafa kar-de la kinkik  
 dai gaja ke sara beja sabu-ke gajak tano runjay-a ar bules a-gala ari ay-  
 lane sabu dan-ke nad mas, dari, jan keli buel-man sahye hal-pul badi sara  
 dela sabu ke sarama utare ay dea bua po-a tebe take bahe kaba en tebe ay  
 pia ay dea gajak saak a lage asu ne-la tebe saakar take har a caray-ba-ke  
 ar be a tane po ay-la raba a non jan'a kelay ay'a se kai po' bar-ba-ke  
 man kar la take kara-na de ay tebe ut kar-a, mar bua gare kaba kama-man  
 acat, ay-nan ar kua ihre, savae ma-e ana buke ma-bi-acat mar ene mar  
 bus lage ut jhi ari bua-ke kalya-bua mapra burud ar ter aki lage dos kar-h,  
 tor be-a boli gajak-ebur agyo na make gajak kama para siga

(Rev F. L. Prabhu Sahaya, Kotpad)

[A man had two sons. The younger son told his father—Father, give me  
 my share. Then the father divided his entire property between the two sons.  
 After a few days, the younger son collected everything and moved to a foreign  
 land. There he picked an friendship with women and squandered his property  
 after wine, woman, meat and gambling. Soon after that there was famine.  
 He lived with much hardship. Then he took shelter at a rich man. That man  
 sent him to graze the hogs in his field. He ate to fill up his stomach what the  
 hogs were eating. As he was not given anything more, he thought—There  
 are so many labourers in my father's house who have excess of food, but I am  
 dying of hunger here. I shall go now to my father and tell him. Father, I sinned  
 against you and god. I am not worthy of being called as your son. Please  
 give me shelter as one of your labourers.]

### (3) The tiger and the jackal

bag ar kalia-e kaha pu a gat-la, bag pacar-la je ay-la kan kor-bi-acas na/kalia  
 bol-la-puta gat-be-aci na/bag kalia-ke pacar-la-palana asi-acae/bag bicar kar-  
 la kalia-ke kan-ba kaje kalia bab-la puta bitre lak-bi/bag kaja x-nam moke  
 gotek gat de, mas ar lak bi gat de bol-ba-ke sari cinema kari gati kari  
 take puta saN-re bid-la roce kalia x/la bula-ane jai jama dala, ari kalia-  
 jani bol-e di d. kor-be ba baie gandri gandri a bag gandri gandri gala ar  
 jai capu ebak sari bagar bidan puski gala puski jibak sari bag bol-la-katib  
 kalia-ke jama kari, ar kor-e-acae kaja gotek sari moke kalia bol-a-acae,  
 bag bab-la ebak kalia-ke kani/bag mag-la-e jul-na-ke moke de bol kalia  
 kalia-nama, mor aya baba d nar julna mas na-dei/bag kalia-nama de eka  
 kalia mase bab-la se e baie gotek gotya kula ay baie gotek gotya kula

gati dei soti jula-ke goiek bato kari dehi ar se pan. karbake jibak soti  
bag jula-ane rui-la rulu rulu se mal c -gala c galak soti se gojiya kula-  
ane bua-on-kori mar-gala-kala buh-la-bag mor la mor-de mui take karbi  
bag mor la ar kala bagor mau karla mor kuta ci la

(Durum Majhi, Bandagura, Kotpad)

[The tiger and the jackal /The jackal weaved out a packing basket. The tiger asked what are you doing? The jackal replied I am making a packing basket. The tiger designed for eating the jackal. The jackal thought of hiding in the basket. The tiger told him Make one for me, I shall also hide. The jackal made one as soon as possible and fastened the tiger inside it. Then the jackal set fire to the dry bushes and said you fell down in that direction from which side I make a clucking sound. The tiger went on furling and catching fire the fastening strings got loosened. The tiger came out and went to searching for the jackal in order to devour it. They found out the jackal was lying on a mah' creeper. The tiger asked I leave him that way. The jackal said I belongs to us since the time of our parents. I shall not give it. The tiger uttered and you must give. The jackal thought in his mind placed two pointed poles in two sides on the ground, punched the string in one side and went away for drinking water. Then the tiger began to swing. The mah' creeper broke apart. The tiger getting pierced with the pointed poles died. The jackal thought let the tiger die I shall eat him. The tiger died and the jackal ate his flesh. My story ends,

#### (4) The tiger and the goat.

[pani bandal go e tek-la je gar-gori sab parbatu-ne- abai kurupnas kari bhar-  
la celi go e hare ethi ethi de gar da t se bag or pari-dela man sa -gala  
bag d ro as la cel e-ba dek-la nai e ka a-ba t bag pala-la kari ya ek dek-  
la se paca la-kentar hasi ha mama' bag kara sa kupal sa sibi, ethi dek dari  
soti, tong ke labu labu kara se ma palai avik-kala kara e-u celi' bag-nai  
sa-kol-a-ni k na bag nai moke ka-de-si na gay kol-a tor lay ke mor lay ke masi  
kari banda dire da-lok ang gala loke ke-bu ke to celi bari-go -lar  
kala-patar' toke jo ek an-ba ke kari-bu ke tu goiek an-las' se bag pala-pala  
sa kala stula sili-sila mar-gala-ane bu celi bagor bu bag gala

(Dom Majhi, Gausahi, Nawarangpur)

[Once when the rains came the cattle were grazing on the hill. It rained heavily. A big goat having long beard took shelter in the tiger's cave. At last the rain abated. The tiger came slowly towards his cave and saw the goat from a distance. Finding to recognise the goat he got frightened and fled away. On the way a jackal met him and asked to know his troubles. The tiger told something terrible he saw in his cave. The jackal said Oh that is a pet let us go and see. The tiger said No, I want it will eat me up. Then the jackal said-Let us tie our tails together and go. Both of them preceded slowly. As they were near the cave, the goat came out and said - You jackal, I ordered you to bring two but you brought one? The tiger immediately started running, and the jackal being dragged and crushed died on the way. The goat and the tiger returned to their respective places safely.]

### The dialect of the JHARIYA PARAJA of Koraput

'PARAJA' is a common term for the tribal peoples of Koraput. The word is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word 'Praja' which means 'the People' or 'the Subjects'. Peoples of divergent ethnological groups, such as Bonda, Dideyi, Gadia of the Munda stock, Koya, Dora, Ollar of the Dravidian stock and Rona, Goud, Mali of the Aryan stock also refer themselves as 'Parajas'. The Parja language which literally means the language of the Parajas is the mother-tongue of only a particular section of the Parajas who are found in Koraput district of Orissa and in some parts of Madhya Pradesh and it belongs to the Dravidian family of languages (Ref. The Paraja Language by T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya Harford, 1953). Whatever may be the origin of these peoples, Gonds (according to Russel H. Ralab) or Kondhs (according to Carmichael, Bell), they are a class of aboriginal tribal people who have settled down in Koraput from a very early period and have been acculturized to a great extent by the Aryans of that region. They are divided into four sections—(1) Jharaya or Bad Paraja, (2) Barend Jharaya Paraja, (3) Pengu Paraja, (4) Celiya or Konda Paraja. The last named section equated with the Telugu-speaking Konda-Doras and are no longer treated as a part of the Paraja tribe (Ref. R. C. S. Bell, Koraput District Gazetteer, 1945 P. 71). Among the other three sects of pure Paraja tribe, the Pengu Parajas form a distinct sect as they speak a Dravidian dialect named after them as Pengu or Pengu. According to 1961 Census, there are altogether 1,254 speakers of this dialect. They are concentrated only in Seml guda and Papatiband P. S. areas. The remaining two sects are more akin to each other as they both speak an Oriya dialect called Jharaya.

The Jharaya Parajas occupy the highest position in the caste hierarchy. They do not eat beef and honour the cows like the Hindus. As tradition goes, these Parajas had their original home-land in Bastar region and for that they till now worship Dantewari, the tutelary Goddess of Bastar. The affinity of their language with the Halbi dialect of Bastar region gives an evidence to this tradition. (Ref. Adhikari, 1963-64, Nos. 1 and 3).

The Jharaya dialect has only 2,032 number of speakers according to 1961 census. There is a remarkable fall in the number within only a decade as the number was 2,539 at the time of 1951 census. They have concentrated settlement only in four areas as follows: Koraput P. S. 500, Bupariguda P. S. 503, Kotpad P. S. 507, Basam Katak P. S. 502. In addition to these there are 23 speakers in Madhya Pradesh and 20 in urban areas of Koraput.

A grammatical sketch of this dialect is given below on the basis of the materials collected from Kilo Genu (Nandpur), Mangala mudhi (Cindri) and Jamadar Nask (Kalapari).

#### Morphology of Jharaya

1. Number—Common plural suffix is /mən/

2. Case—Affixes—

Nom.	
Acc.	—ke
Instr.	—əŋge, etc.
Abl.	—əŋi
Gen.	—əŋ
Loc.	—ə, -te

The Aoc. and Loc. affixes are added to the regular base and the Instr. and Abl. affixes are added to the genitival oblique base of the noun.

### 3. Pronoun—Direct Form

### Oblique Form

#### Personal

1st, sg. <i>mui</i>	<i>mo/mor</i>
pl. <i>amj</i>	<i>am/amor</i>
2nd, sg. <i>tui</i>	<i>tə/tor</i>
pl. <i>tame</i>	<i>tam/tamor</i>
3rd, sg. <i>so</i>	<i>ta</i>
pl. <i>so-mou</i>	<i>tšokar semənar</i>

#### Demonstrative—

Near—	<i>ə/i</i>	—	<i>e</i>
Far	<i>so</i>		<i>ta/teo</i>

#### Relative-*je/jeon*

*ja*

#### Interrogative *ip*

*ka*

#### Impersonal— *kāi* (what)

*ken/kon* (which)

Case affixes are added to the oblique base only

### Pronominal Derivatives

From Demonstr. */e-i/*, *iti* (here), *eor* (of here), *abe* (now)

*/w/*, *təi* (there), *teor-teir* (of there),

From Interrog. */ke/*, *kuntš* (where), *ken- kae* (where), *kəbke* (when), *kepulš* (from somewhere) *kiru* (from somewhere), *ka.ntar* (for what), *ke.tkar* (of where).

### 4. Verb—

There are altogether 12 conjugational forms of which four are simple forms and eight are periphrastic forms. The periphrastic forms are constructed with the help of the auxiliary verb *ire*. These are of two types—imperfective and perfective. The imperfect aspect is marked by *te-ti* affix and the perfect aspect by *i* affix. Present-Perfect forms are formed by adding the auxl. */sch/* to simple past-form.



## Conjugational Affixes—

- (1) Past tense marker /t/ and

Subjunctive mood marker /t/

Occur with the following P-N affixes.

1st. sg.	/e/	pl.	/u/
2nd.	/in/		/as/
3rd.	/a/		/ay/

- (2) Future tense—The following P-N affixes are added to Vais.

1st. sg., ind-end/	pl., und/
2nd.	/si/      /as/
3rd.	/id-ed/      /unde-ad/

- (3) Imperative mood—The following P-N affixes are added.

2nd.sg.—/	pl. /a/
3rd.	/o/      /oy/

## Auxiliary Verbs—

(i) /ac/x 1st.sg., ach/	pl. /acq/
as/	/ase/      /asu/
2nd.	/acis/      /acas/
	/asis/      /as/
3rd.	/ach/      /acas/
	/ase/      /at/

(ii) ra-/ 1st.sg.	Past-/rile/	Future-/raind/	Subjunc./reti/
pl.	/rult/	/raend/	/retu/
2nd.sg.	/relis/	/res/	/retis/
pl./	/relas/	/roas/	/retas/
3rd.sg.	/rela/	/roid/	/reta/
pl.	/reloy/	/rainde/	/retay/

## Negative forms—

Negative forms are obtained by prefixing the negative morphemes /no, ne/ or by suffixing /nai/ to the verb forms. There is a negative verb/nic/ which is conjugated like any other verb stem.

## Causative forms—

Causative forms are obtained by the addition of the affix /a/ to the root.

## Non-Finite forms—

- Verbal Noun-Root+ /n/, /ba/
- Durative Participle-Root+ /te, ti/
- Gerundial Perfect—Root+ /i/
- Conditional Conjunctive Root+ /le/

## 5. Sample Paradigm.

—[kar, 'to do'.

## Past

	Singular	Plural
1st.	karile	karule
2nd.	karulis	karulas
3rd.	karula	karulay

## Future

	karind	karund
	karul	karas
	karad	karado

## Subjunctive

	karte	kartu
	kartis	kartas
	karta	kartay

## Imperative

2nd.	kar	karn
3rd.	karo	karay

## Periphrastic Forms—

Imperfect—1st. Sg. karti-rile, and so on.

Perfect— kari-ach, and so on.

keli-ach, and so on.

## Non-Finite Forms—

Verbal Noun—kartu

Durative— karti-

Gerundial—Perf-karti

Conditional conj. karle

## 6. Sample sentences—

tui kon glo-r-avi ahus ? ka| karu-ke ?  
 [You which village-of-from came what doing-to]

tui koi-ti resi ?  
 [You where shall-stay]

dni lok-ke gotek gar se dei-ut-to ki ?  
 [two person-to one house only they-have-given what]

jotek babu at-ti kay ?  
 two gentlemen are (there) what]

mui na pari, se mansi, kered  
 [I not able that man shall-do]  
 gere ar kaintai jaund ta, iti soind be  
 [house-in again for-what I-shall go, here I-shall-sleep]  
 ekla to e paiti keru may  
 [alone this job doing not-possible]  
 e lok-ke kan-ke dias, ini kauod boluley  
 [this man-to eating-to you-give here we-shall-eat they-said]  
 mor glu kalapari ach  
 [my village kalapari is]  
 gote pila gat kandi bosi-ach  
 [one boy river bank he-is-sitting]  
 aji pani mared ai-bel-ke  
 [today msa, shall-rin afternoon-to]  
 mui kotte mil-li nai  
 [I when-searched that-was-available not]  
 pekno gote beti-an kanulis  
 [stone one picking-bring from-somewhere]  
 tai keta jaulis .? ten-ke mui jaund  
 [you where went there-to I shall-go]  
 ken geli-ach ki, ase nai se ?  
 [where he-has-gone what comes not indeed]  
 tao-ke e potli kori-at-ti  
 [they-to this work they-have-done]  
 ca kan-ke jai-roh, eles eta asla  
 [its drinking-to I-had-gone delay became coming]  
 mui gote lagi se paiti karti-raila mui dekie  
 [I went at-that-time he work was-doing-be I saw]  
 se-lok aji Jeypur ja-i-ti tai jani ki ?  
 [they today ' they-have-gone you shall-go what]  
 kerabel lage as-i be tai ?  
 [when at-that-time shall-come you]  
 e manai-man gar-kandi bosi-at-ti, ka; karney  
 [this persons river-bank they-have-sat what they-did msi-ne-jani I not-know]  
 take kofte se karte-roin  
 [him if-said he would-have-been-doing]  
 tame ba kusa ki nicas ?  
 [you-all shall-eat or shall-deny]  
 ma kud-la ki baba kud-la abe as-i ki may ?  
 [mother called or father called now you-will-come or not]

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